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Vol. XXIV, No. 1, 1958.

ADVAITA ANALYSIS OF THE KNOWLEDGE PROBLEM

By Anil Kumar Ray Chaudhuri

In Advaita Vedānta, knowledge, in the ultimate or *pāramārthika* sense, is defined as pure consciousness. It is self-revealing and does not require any external aid. In fact, it is the only reality and there is nothing external nor internal to it. But, from the practical or *vyāvahārika* standpoint, '*vṛtti*' or modal transformation of the *antaḥkaraṇa* or the internal organ is also called knowledge in a secondary sense.[1] The '*vṛtti*' by itself is unconscious and cannot, therefore, reveal others. The *Sākṣin* or the witness-consciousness informing the '*vṛtti*' knows itself and '*shows*' others. In fact, the *Sākṣin* means consciousness as reflected in the modification of *ajñāna* or its evolute.[2] Thus the physical element or the modification of the internal organ and the *Sākṣin* or the psychical principle work together to solve the knowledge problem. The *Sākṣin* never appears by itself but is in association with the *antaḥkaraṇa* in its latent or manifest form. The reverse also is true. No internal organ is conceivable apart from the *Sākṣin*. Thus the blend of the passive *Sākṣin* and the active *antaḥkaraṇa* initiates knowledge in general.[3] The one is eternal and the other is contingent.

The *Sākṣin* is the spectator of all things. It is the '*Caitanya*' with necessary reference to things inner and outer. The *Sākṣin* divested of '*sākṣitu*' or sākṣihood is Brahman indeed. The *antaḥkaraṇa*, again, is conceived as '*bhautika*' or material and is constituted by five elements (earth, water, air, fire and the *ākāśa*), the '*tejas*' or the fire-aspect is predominant. It is not '*āhaṁkārika*' as the Sāmkhya supposes. Though it consists of the five elements, the '*tejas*' is the predominant factor. It is therefore unstable and like light swiftly moves from one thing to another.[4] It is always active except in deep sleep when it is merged in its material cause, '*avidyā*'. The jīva or the consciousness circumscribed by *antaḥkaraṇa* is never without some jñāna or other.

Knowledge may be either mediate or immediate according as it respectively removes the *ajñāna* which concerns the bare existence of the object (*asattāpādaka ajñāna*) or according as it reveals the essence of the object by removing the '*abhāṇāpādaka ajñāna*'.[5] Immediate knowledge is not always sense-perception of the object; since the self and the '*avidyā*' are immediately known without any contact with the sense-organ.[6]

Immediate knowledge requires some conditions to be fulfilled, no matter whether the object comes through a sense or not. (1) First the object must be existent at the time of immediate knowledge. Critical realists opine that immediate knowledge or perception is a *salute* and not an *embrace* in respect of objects. They affirm that perception is a three-term process, viz. knowledge, object and the content. But Advaita Vedānta holds that knowledge is a two-term process, viz. perception and the object, and the contact with the object is direct. (2) Secondly, there must be a direct relation between the subject and the object. It occurs through a '*vṛtti*' or modification of the *antaḥkaraṇa* which streams out to an object through a sense-channel and is determined by the external object but remains within the body when perception is of internal objects like pleasure and pain. The internal subject and the external object are situated in different places and the '*vṛtti*' brings about an intimate relation between the two in such a manner that the object becomes identical with the subject, i.e. the *being* of the object ceases to be different from *that* of the subject.[7] The previous existence of the external object is thus necessary for perception and Advaita Vedānta recognizes an epistemological realism in the matter of knowledge. And (3), thirdly the object should be such as can be directly known (*yogya*). Merit, demerit and the like entities cannot be directly known since they are, by nature, imperceivable.

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[1] Vedānta-paribhāṣā, Kṛṣṇanātha's Ed., p. 19.
[2] Advaita-siddhi, N.S. Ed., p. 575.
[3] Ratnaprabhā on Brahma Sūtra, 1.1.5.
[4] Śikhāmaṇi, Vem. Ed., p. 58.
[5] Advaita-siddhi, N.S. Ed., p. 490.
[6] 'Ātmāvidyādau tadabhāvāt—Vedānta-tattva-viveka, Lazarus Ed., p. 20.

Mediate knowledge originates when the object lacks some of these conditions. Here the object cannot be identical with the subject. Mediate knowledge cognizes the bare existence of the object. The means of such knowledge is inference, testimony and others.

This description of knowledge refers to the waking state. But there are states of dream and dreamless sleep. The distinction between dream and waking state is that the senses are dormant in the former case, but they are active in the latter. Dreams are not mere revivals of past impressions. They may be described as 'perceptions without sensation'.[8] In dream we actually experience existent objects that are created for the time. In this state consciousness of the gross body is reduced to a minimum[9] and the self is practically free in creating objects along with the space and time which hold them within.[10] In waking life the self always appears identified with the body and finds itself sense-bound; but in dream the self is more or less liberated from the shackles of the body. It is shut up within the charmed circle of its privacy and is free enough to conjure up things from within.

There is also a difference between dream and dreamless sleep. The internal organ alone functions in dream, but that also is merged in *ajñāna* in deep sleep. In this state the enduring elements are the *Sākṣin* and the *ajñāna*. There is neither the subject or the 'Caitanya' circumscribed by *antaḥkaraṇa* nor any state of consciousness concerning objects. There is only the Sākṣi-realization of the *ajñāna* and of the state of bliss which is inherent in the *Sākṣin* or the pure nature (*svarūpa*) of the self. The consciousness of the subtle body, through which conscious and willing activities are effected, lapses here altogether.[11] When a man rises from deep sleep, he says that he had a blissful sleep and that he was conscious of nothing (positive nescience). This knowledge is memory and memory can alone be of a presented datum. Therefore the blissful state and the consciousness of *nothing* must have been experienced before in '*suṣupti*' or deep sleep.

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[7] Vedāntā-paribhāṣā, Kṛṣṇanātha's Ed., p. 45.

[8] Studies in Vedāntism by Krishnachandra Bhattacharyya, Cal. Univ. Ed., p. 2.

[9] Siddhāntabindu, Chow. Ed., p. 401.

[10] Bhāmatī, N.S. Ed., p. 21.

[11] Pañcadaśī, 1.39 śloka.

Journal of the Asiatic Society. Letters.
Vol. XXIV, No. 1, 1958.

A BRAHMOTTARA LAND GRANT OF A MUSLIM LANDLORD

By N. B. Roy

(Communicated by Dr. J. N. Banerji)

In course of a tour of the Malda district in search of old historical documents and English Records, I happened to trace out a number of Bengali *Sanads* at village Kaligram within Kharba Police Station of the above-mentioned district. Kaligram, lying within three miles of Cãncal Rãjbãti, is a locality inhabited at present mostly by a cluster of Brahmin families. The Goswami Brahmins of this village maintained until lately a *Catuspathi* (a seminary of Sanskrit learning) and have in their houses images of black basalt and Radha-Krsna installed for worship. Before the river Mahananda changed its course into the present bed, it flowed past Kaligram, turning this locality into an important mart with warehouses of foreign merchants, e.g. the Dutch.

The history of this locality in the middle of the seventeenth century is, however, shrouded in utter obscurity. The *Baharistan-i-Ghayebi* of Mirza Nathan testifies to Gaur and Pandua, the ancient capitals of Bengal, having been sunk in desolation. It appears, however, that a number of Muslim landlords were scattered throughout the district in that age, the representatives of whom are still to be found at Nurpur, within Manikchak Police Station and at Kotwali, on the outskirts of the present English Bazar (Malda) town. During Shah Jahan's reign, a Muslim *Jagirdar* was settled at Kaligram and the Brahmin families inhabiting the village have a vague memory of their ancestor having migrated to this village, under the persuasion of this chief, Sabdal Khan. There are certain Muslim families living by the side of the Hindus in Kaligram itself, but none of them claimed Sabdal Khan as having been their ancestor. No clue to this chief, Sabdal Khan, could be supplied by either the Nurpur or the Kotwali Zamindar. The family might be extinct or be surviving in the Muslim families resident in the village, without their knowing it. It is a well-known fact that Srimant Khan was patron of Kavikankan Mukundaram Chakravartty, as vouched for in the verse,

"সহায় শ্রীমন্ত খাঁন চণ্ডীবাটী যার গাঁ"

The Khan's descendants inhabiting at present the village of Damunyā, on the outskirt of Chandibati, had his memory lost in complete oblivion. A tank, however, bearing the name of *Chhemanta Pukur*[1] (ছেমন্তা পুকুর) still preserves his name. A stray verse in Bengali literature or an etymological hit like the above could only yield light upon such an obscure chief as Sabdal Khan. Sri Ramranjan Lahiri, President of the Kaligram Union Board, who kindly handed to me the bunch of Sanads could add nothing to the prevailing tradition current among his kinsmen that one of their ancestors was attracted to this village by the liberality of a Muslim landlord.

---

[1] The word 'ছেমন্তা' is an apabrahmsa for শ্রীমন্ত > ছিমন্ত > ছ্যামন্ত, etc.

Three of the *Sanads* now in my possession are *Brahmottara patra*, or deed of assignment of land to a Brahmin, made by the Muslim landlord Sabdal Khan. The present *Sanad* (document), being the oldest in my collection, was issued to Radhika Mohan Sarma, in A.D. 1654-55.

This *Sanad* bears the stamp of the Dinajpur Collectorate dated 1795 and is unquestionably as old as that date. A proof of its authenticity is the mixed vocabulary with which it is made up. Sanskrit words, words of Sanskrit origin, Persian and Arabic words are juxtaposed with each other[1] and a syntactical relation is set up between them. This hybrid character was the main characteristic of the Bengali literary style as found in documents during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. This would be evident from random illustrations, Nos. 151, 472, 505, 582, from the *Chithipatre Samajchitra* by Sree Panchanan Mandal, published by the Visva-Bharati University.

Such a symbol as *āñji* and a combination of Hindu and Muslim supplicatory words are common in old Bengali letters. A similar grant of land made by a Muslim to a Brahmin is in the collection of Sri Panchanan Mandal of the Visva-Bharati University and in this document the donor solicits the Brahmin's benediction. This letter has been incorporated in the first volume of the *Chithipatre Samajchitra*, now in printing.

Any doubt as to the authenticity of this document should be dissipated by a comparison of this Sanad with letter No. 472 of *Chithipatre Samājchitra*, op. cit. Vol. II, which is so far the oldest land grant discovered in Bengal. The grant was made to Sivarām Chakravarty, son of Mukundarām Kavikankan. The features common in both are (i) the *Anji*, (ii) the absence of the name of the donee's father, (iii) the word 'Sree' before Shāhin Shāh and (iv) the use of Sanskrit and Persian words.

The importance of the document lies in its nature and content. It is a rare record of a Muslim chief granting land to a Brahmin in which the donor signs his name with the Sanskrit inflexion—*Sabdal Khānasya*. The document bears on the top the supplicatory words of *Sri Sri Ram*, while the word *Pādishāh-Jieu* shows the high honour paid to the ruler of the land.

Such a literary style blending harmoniously the Sanskrit with Persian words indicate, though very faintly, a type of composite culture that was built up in that age by Hindu-Muslim collaboration.

শ্রীশ্রীরাম :—

৭ সকল মঙ্গলালয় শ্রীরাদ্ধিয়া মোহন শর্ম্মা যুচরিতেষু। ব্রহ্মোত্তর পত্রমিদং লিখনং কার্য্যঞ্চাগে তরফ কলীগ্রাম পরগণে বাকুলপুর জোত্তাব মালদহ সরকার জন্নতাবাদ পরগণে মজকুর হামারে তালূক ইসমে—তরফ মজকুরমে বসতবাষ সর্ব্ব মবলগে—১/ এক বিঘা জমী তুমকো ব্রহ্মোত্তর দিয়া গেয়া ময়াফীক তপসীল চিহ্নিত লে করকে আবাদানসে শ্রীশ্রীপাতসাজীওকো আশীষ করকে পুত্র পৌত্রাদীসে ভোগ করেগে ইস্কা মালগুজারীসে এলাকা নাহী এতদর্থে ব্রহ্মোত্তর পত্র দিয়া ইতি সন ১০৬১ এক হাজার একসট্টী সাল তারিখ ১৭ই চৈত্র।

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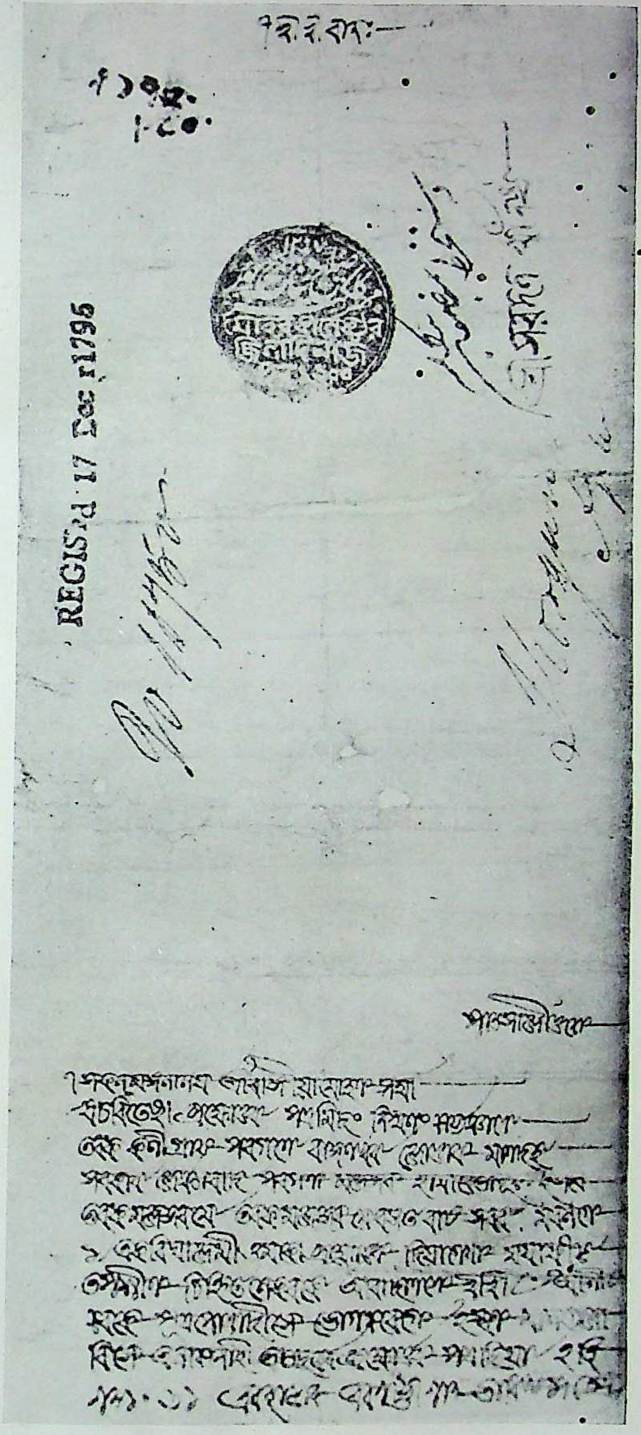
[1] সকল মঙ্গলালয়, যুচরিতেষু, ব্রহ্মোত্তর পত্রমিদং, সর্ব্ব, এক, চিহ্নিত, আশীষ, ভোগ are Sanskrit words, while রাদ্ধিয়া < রাধিকা, বসত < বসতি, একসট্টী < এক ষষ্টি and similar words are derived from Sanskrit. তরফ, পরগণে, জোত্তাব, মজকুর, তালূক, তপসীল, মালগুজারী are Persian words and others like হামারে, তুমকো, গেয়া are Hindi words.

Sree Sree Ram

In the name of the Source of all Bliss.

To Radhya Mohan Sarma, bearing a good character. This is a document assigning grant of land in perpetuity to a Brahmin (Brahmottara-patram). I hold in proprietary right the *taraf* (circle) of Kaligram within the *pargana* (subdivision) of Bākulpur alias Malda lying in the *Sarkar* (district) of Jinnatabad and I grant you a total of one bigha of land in the above *taraf* as *brahmottara* for habitation and settlement. Have the plot marked out according to the schedule of record and let you, your sons and grandsons enjoy this land in hereditary succession, having asked for benediction to the ruler of the land (Padishah). Be it known that this land is rent-free. This deed of assignment of land to a Brahmin (Brahmottara-patram) is drawn to this effect, on the 17th day of Chaitra, San 1061/ April, A.D. 1654-55.



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THE BONDO TREE PRESS AND ITS LINKS

By K. P. Chattopadhyay

In a paper published thirty years ago, the present writer pointed out the association of a primitive oil press used in Nepal and an early culture stream, prior to the Vedic culture in India. The oil press described in use in Nepal at an early period consisted of two planks, fitted on two supports. The crushed seed, after roasting, was packed in split bamboo baskets and placed between the planks. The baskets were then pressed hard by leverage between the planks. It was suggested that similar plank presses were to be expected in other areas on the margin of the advanced culture areas inhabited by Hindus.[1]

The occurrence of the plank press was reported later by the author and others[2] among Hos, Oraons, Kharias and Santals of Chota Nagpore and Orissa, Korkus and Gonds of Central Province and Koyas of Godaveri district. An even more primitive type of oil press was described by the writer in detail for Santals of Bengal (Plate I, fig. 1) and Koches of Assam.[3] Instead of a wooden post to support and keep fixed one end of the pair of planks of the press, the trunk of a living tree is used. A hole is cut in it at about two feet from the ground. A thick, shaped block of wood is placed at the foot of the tree. On this are put the fibre baskets packed with crushed and roasted mustard seed (Koch) or mohul kernels (Santals). On it is put a short upper plank and then pressure is applied by a long pole, and sometimes with the help of crossbars. Sometimes, the pressure is applied simply by the operator sitting on the pole with other members of his family. This type of tree press, it was pointed out in the earlier paper, occurs in Nicobar. It was reported also from a village in Bengal, on the border of Hill Tipperah.

The tree press was found in purely Santal villages in Muruda Pargana, Mayurbhanj. These had the tree press only. The plank press was common in Santal villages which had a Hindu hamlet. In the Jamtara subdivision of Santal Parganas and in Jhargram subdivision of Midnapore, the tree press had been known one or two generations earlier but had been replaced by the plank press. It was noted by the writer that 'the geographical distribution of the tree press is limited within the bounds of the area to which the Austric speaking tribes spread in India; although in two of the places (in Assam and Bengal), where the tree press is found, such tribes have now disappeared'. It was further concluded on technological evidence that 'the plank press assumed its present form' among non-Austric speakers although its basis was the tree press.

In May 1952 the writer made a short tour in Koraput district and visited villages near Jeypore as well as a few miles away from Koraput in Orissa on the Bori road leading from Koraput. Distant areas like Maitilli, Malkangiri, Naorangpur and Machkund were also visited. The writer came across a tree press exactly of the same type as used by Santals (the simple type) and Koches, in the village Khemaguru, inhabited by Bondas or Bondos, at the base of the Bondo Hills. The Bondo speech is of Austric family. The photo shows clearly the identical construction of the press (Plate I, fig. 2). The tree in this case was a tamarind tree. The press is located in the compound of Gasi Nai, the Naeko of the village, and as among Santals is common to the village. Mohul kernels are crushed and roasted and then packed in somewhat long cylindrical baskets of fibre. The Forest Officer kindly identified the material as strips of bark of Wahenia. A similar tree press was said to be in existence in Raswara village, ten miles away, towards Balimela. Other tree presses were reported from Koya villages, in Sardagura and Gondipalle. The Bondo informant referred to the tree press as Tela-siri while the Koya referred to it as Gargute. A plank press of the Santal type was observed in Malkangiri in the house of Pandu Mandla, of Rona tribe. Here the kernel was being pounded in *dhenki* (husking lever) instead of in a pestle; it was then roasted in earthen pots and packed in cylindrical fibre baskets.

Near Jeypore the plank press was found in the mixed village of Maliguda. On Naorangpur side, the plank press was reported from the villages of Paraligura, three miles from Naorangpur, and further away at Pappahandy, in the house of a Kewat. It was also reported from outlying villages on Bori side.

Recently two research scholars of the Department of Anthropology, University of Calcutta, working under me have reported the occurrence of the tree and plank press in other areas. One of them, G. Chattopadhyay, found the tree press among Murias in Bastar district. A sketch of the same is given (Fig. 1). Another research scholar, S. Navlakha, observed a new type of plank press among Bhils. As the construction is very different from other plank presses, a full description with sketches is given in a separate short note by Navlakha along with this paper.[4] Wijesekara had mentioned in his work on Ceylon [5] an oil press where oil is squeezed between two planks. A. Jayasundara, an Honours student in my department who comes from Ceylon, carefully studied at my request the structure of the oil press used even now among the peasants in Kandy area and has described this tree press. This is also published as a separate note along with this paper.[6] The oil mill prevalent in peninsular India and adjacent areas is also found in Ceylon. Wijesekara states: 'A stone or wooden mortar is planted very firmly on the ground, allowing a short neck

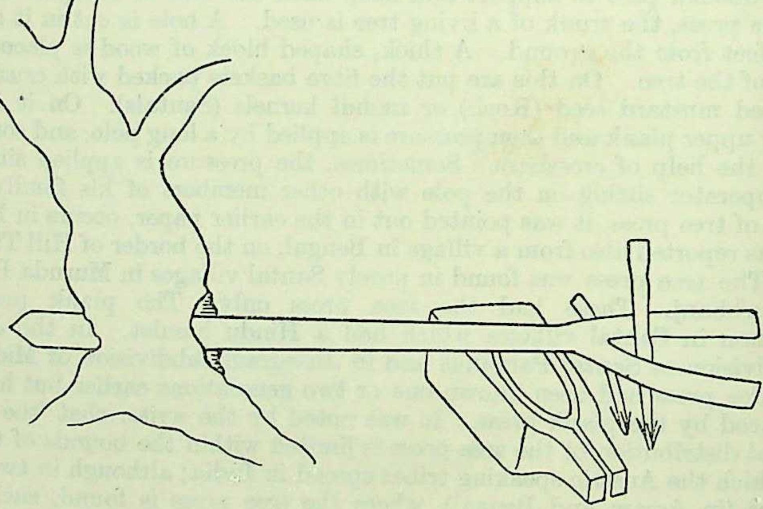

FIG. 1.

Bastar Tree Press.

at the bottom to appear above the ground. A pestle of wood is placed in the mortar. A pair of bulls or a man carries the yoke round the mortar. The oil is squeezed out through the opening at the bottom of the chekku on a side'. Obviously the hole is in the wooden mortar. The machine is said to be for extracting coconut oil. It is however added—'But the villagers prefer hand-made coconut oil'.

A distribution of the tree press and plank press on the map of India printed herewith (Map 1), showing the areas of Austric speech, clearly brings out the association. It should be added that the occurrence of 'abrupt tones' in the Newar language is considered to be due to the influence of contact with Austric (Kherwari family probably) speech, which has been submerged. The Newars have been shown by the writer, in the paper already referred to, to have derived their culture from pre-Vedic cultured immigrants. It represents an area of culture on the margin of the settlements of Vedic immigrants. Upper Assam is also such an area. The tribal areas enumerated also fall into this category. On the hypothesis of origin of the plank press put forward, the tree press should occur among primitive tribals in Nepal. Unfortunately no field work has been done among them. Even in tribal areas where work has been done, such particular items of material culture are often overlooked as with regard to Bondos, about whom we have a monograph, without any mention of the tree press found by me among them. The place of occurrence of the Bhil plank press falls outside the limits of Austric speech in India. But it should be remembered that the Bhils have adopted Indo-Aryan speech as a foreign tongue.[7]

Outside India, the tree press occurs in Ceylon, among the Sinhalese peasantry who are not a tribal folk. Both the tree press and the plank press occur as the traditional implements for expressing oil from oil seeds in Viet Nam where a cultured folk speaking an Austric language live. In outlying villages in South China, however, only a plank press is used or was used recently to extract oil.* A similar but more elaborate press† is employed to squeeze out milk of soya bean (Fig. 2).

The Kol word for oil is Sunum. It occurs as Senum among the Sakai of the Central group and as Sinum among the Orang Tanjang in South Selangkor.[8]

The Indo-Aryan term Sneham which is of the same root as Schnee in German and Snow in English was applied to oils and fats in Sanskrit quite early. But the earlier sense was moisture. The extension of the term to oils and fats seems to have been of later date. The Dravidian term for oil is Neyi, which refers also to fats. Butter is however referred to as Ven-ney, i.e. white grease or ghee. In Gondi the term pal is used to denote milk and the term for butter or ghee is pal-ni, the term ni meaning oil. This use of a descriptive term indicates that oil was known earlier in Dravidian and butter came to be made later. The Nicobarese term for oil from coconut is Ngai(j), Ngai(ch) when boiled out and Mayai(j), Mayai(ch) when squeezed out. The Polynesian term for oil is Niu.[9] The Viet Nam term for oil is 'DAU' and for the tree press and plank press, respectively, 'Kay go ep dāu' and 'Van ep dau'. The word 'Kay' means tree, the term 'Ep'=press, 'Go'=wood and 'Van'=plank.

Oil pressing is done in a press which the Santals refer to as Sunum Pat. Now this term Pat is not taken from Indo-Aryan. To press is described

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* For the information about Viet Nam I have to thank Prof. Hach of the University of Saigon, and Mr. Bac, advocate, Saigon. For the information about China I have to thank my friends in the Chinese Consulate.

† After sketch No. 10 in 'Institute Indochinois pour l'etude de l'homme, 1943' in the article 'Petites et grandes industries chinoises a Shanghai' by J. Malval.

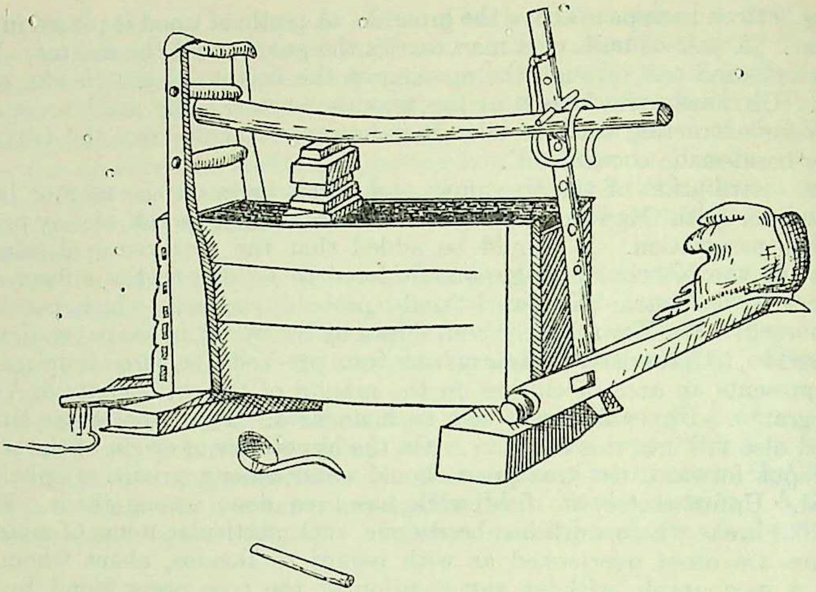

FIG. 2.

by the word Pat in Mon, Pat in Stieng and Pit in Bahnar.[8] The Sre are a folk living in the 'high plateau of Annam . . . more or less primitive, strangers to the yellow race and occupying the country anterior to them'. Glottal occlusion is a character of their language. In the language of this people of an early stratum in this area, the word Pat describes a 'mouvement complexe produit d'une traction, torsion, pression', i.e. a complex movement, the product of traction, torsion and pressure'.[10] This is what occurs in the primitive oil presses described by the present writer (in the primitive oil presses of Santals, Hos, Korkus and others).

It should be evident that the term for oil and oil press as found among speakers of the Austric language cannot have come from Dravidian. The term for the press has also not come from Dravidian or Indo-Aryan. It is of interest to note that the term Salmi (or variant of the word) used for the oil pressing caste of Newars of Nepal, linked with an early culture, shows resemblance with the word Sunum and its variant Sulum used for oil among Santals. Since the tree press is found among the Ceylonese peasantry, and there was no oil pressing among the only tribal folk of Ceylon, the Veddas, it has to be concluded that the ancestors of these peasants were the people who brought this oil press to Ceylon. But tradition and physique link these early comers to Ceylon with people of the Indo-Aryan speaking tracts of India. Among these Indo-Aryan speakers, the peasantry do not employ the tree press. It had however survived in an outlying eastern area of Bengal and occurs in tribal areas among Austric speakers and tribes in contact with them. A somewhat improved type of it, a plank press was found in Nepal in association with what has been considered to be a pre-Vedic culture there. In the tribal areas of Chota Nagpore, Madhya Pradesh and also Orissa, this improved beam or plank press is not found in purely Santal villages but in those in close contact with Hindu peasantry or semi-Hinduized other tribes. The present writer has indicated reasons for concluding that the plank press has evolved from the tree press. Further when the oil mill with pestle and mortar, wherein seed is crushed by rotary motion, was invented by some other people, the original type was without a hole to drain the oil produced in the mortar. The present writer suggested that the hole in the mortar came from influence of the draining device in the plank press. The clumsier holeless mill was continued by people who were of the culture of the inventors of the rotary oil mill due to conservatism while the people who used the plank press modified and improved it by adding the drainage hole. The claim of the users of the less efficient mill to be of higher status than those who added the hole fits in with such a view. It may be added that the latter people roast the pounded seed before charging the mortar, just like the users of the plank press.

Now the people who went to Ceylon from India must have been seafaring, since they did not cross over from the tip of the peninsula but from areas further north, probably from the Sind or Gujarat area or from the coast of Bengal. Leaving the exact locality of centre of migration open, it is evident that seaworthy boats and knowledge of seamanship must have been present in such a culture. It has been pointed out in the earlier paper that the leverage employed in pressing the planks together to crush the seeds to extract the oil is comparable to the leverage used in propelling a boat. This agrees with the knowledge of seamanship and of boats needed for migration. But such migration must have occurred prior to introduction of knowledge of the oil mill which in its turn depended on knowledge of machines capable of rotary motion, i.e. of wheels, wheel-made pottery and similar implements. Now the rotary oil mill originated, it has been shown by the present writer in the same earlier paper, among the advanced Dravidian speaking people of South India. If the tree press had also been invented by the ancestors of these Dravidians and they had spread it to the different areas like Assam, Nicobar, Chota Nagpore and Ceylon, the more efficient oil mill would have been adopted by the users of the tree press long ago. The improvement about drainage hole would also have occurred among the Dravidians and no question arisen about higher status of users of the huge and clumsy holeless mill.

The tradition of origin of Santals as narrated by them makes it clear that at first they had no sibs or sib exogamy and were a hunting folk. Growing of plant food by shifting cultivation, the making of the fermented drink from such grain and sib formation and exogamy are associated in their traditions and hence came together to Santals. Production of oil seeds and of oil could have come only in this second stage, if not later. It is known that the Ceylonese peasantry also practise shifting cultivation. In this Chena cultivation as it is termed, 'thick forests are selected as a cheña . . . The trees are felled and the jungle is cleared . . . Good timber is removed for sale. When the leaves have dried, the clearing is set on fire . . . The burnt out area is fenced' with timber palisades to keep out large wild animals. 'A watch hut is erected within the area, as watching the chena constitutes the most exacting task of this method of cultivation'. In another publication on Ceylon it is stated that after the land is 'burned' and fenced roughly, it is cleared of leaves and small roots, etc., and the seed is then thrown on and scraped in with 'udalla' which is the Ceylon term for hoe.[11] Buffaloes are used for plough cultivation. Irrigation with ridge boundaries of fields in plains with plough cultivation, and slash and burn type with hoe cultivation in hills is the rule. The description noted can be applied to the methods of shifting cultivation with hoe traditionally practised by various tribes in India. The difference in the case of Ceylon is that chena cultivation as well as settled agriculture is done by the Kandyan peasantry where the older culture of Ceylon survived, little influenced by the European occupation of the maritime area. This again is in agreement with the hypothesis that the ancestors of the Ceylonese proper were of the same culture as that which in India spread knowledge of shifting cultivation and of the tree press among tribal folk in India. A more detailed discussion of the further implications of these conclusions and data will be published in a separate paper.

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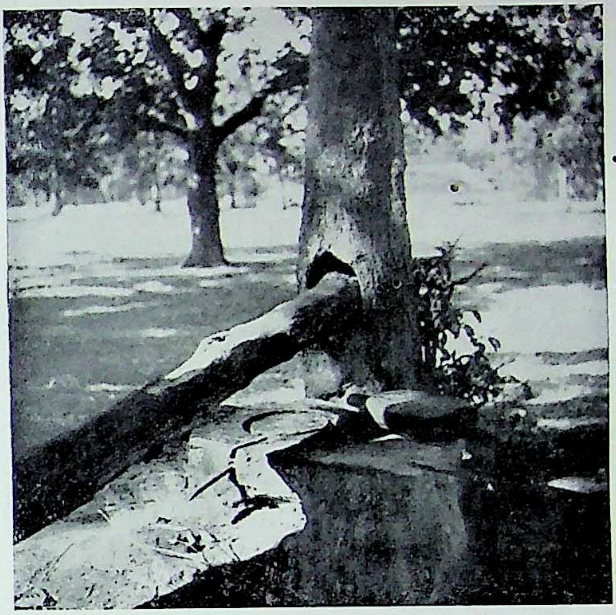


FIG. 1.

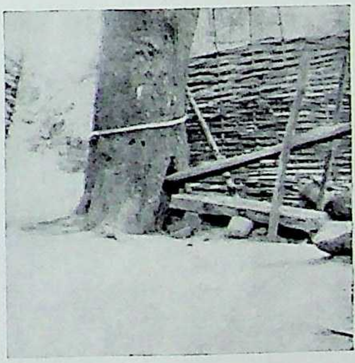


FIG. 2.

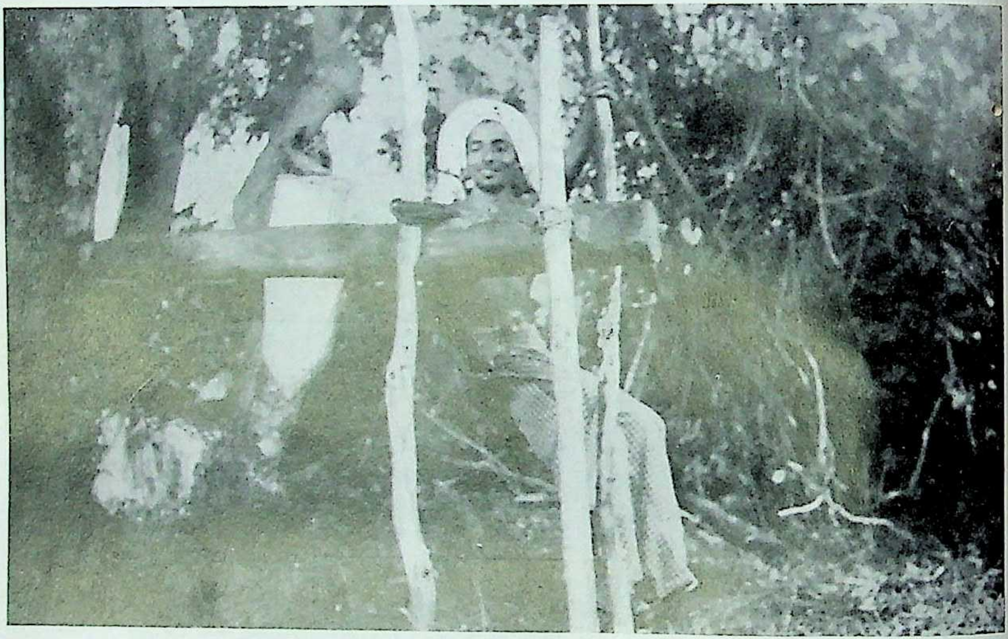
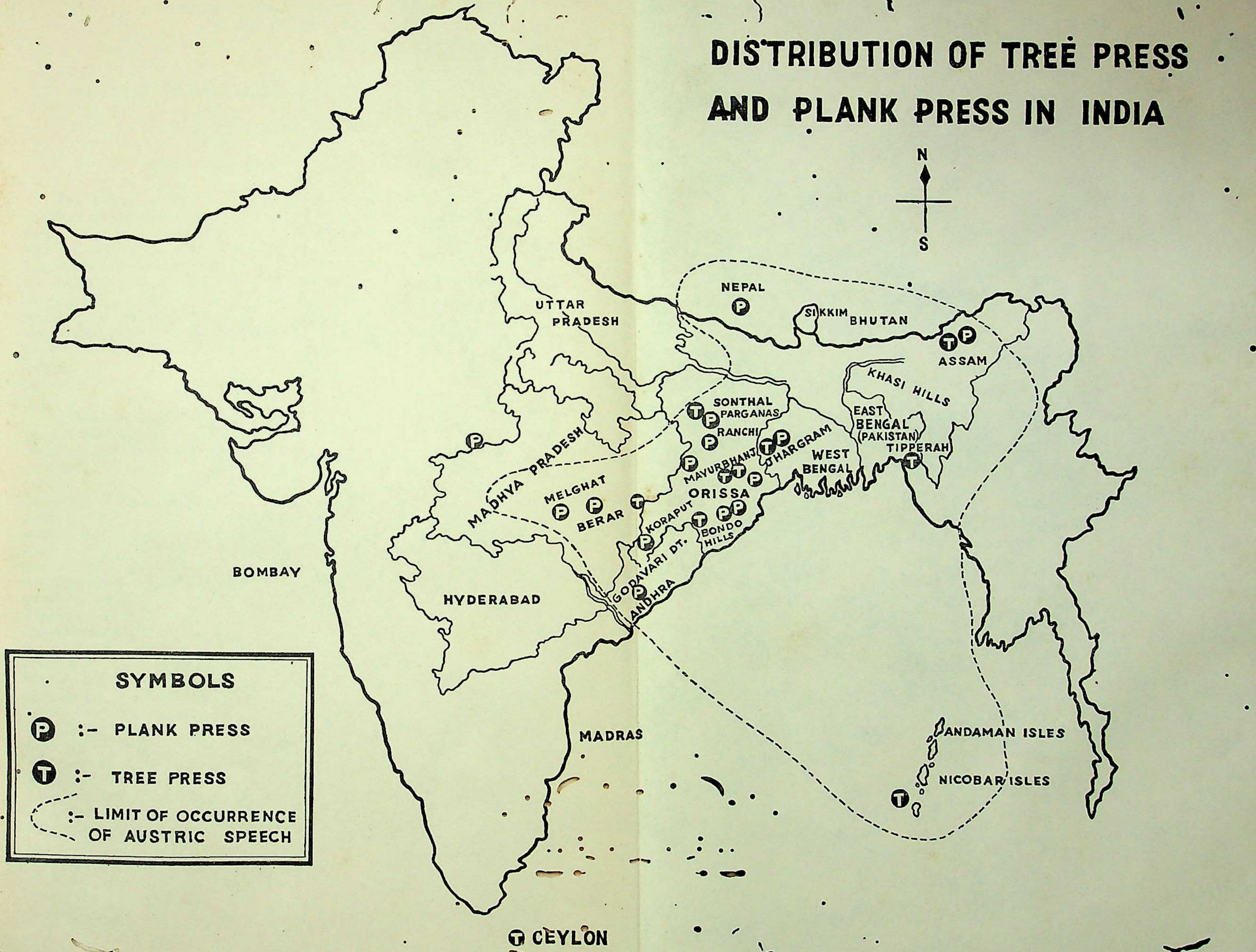


FIG. 3.



DISTRIBUTION OF TREE PRESS AND PLANK PRESS IN INDIA

Map 1.

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SOCIAL PICTURE IN THE 'SATSAI' OF BIHARI LAL

By Rama Shankar Tiwary

(Communicated by Dr. J. N. Banerjea)

The 'Satsai' of Bihari Lal, one of the leading poets of the Riti School of Hindi poetry, has attracted readers and admirers down the ages. The secret of its enduring popularity has consisted in its being a treasury of love portraits drawn with superb skill and delicacy. Its compacted couplets have been variously interpreted by various scholars and the process has not drawn to a close even now. It has not been studied, however, from the sociological point of view, although it can yield plenty of material which will help the historian to construct the social history of the people during the Moghul period. An attempt has been made here in the following lines to bring out the picture of society as painted in the 'Satsai' under different heads.

(1) Moral Condition

Bihari has suggested, in his aphoristic style, that the morals of the people in his day have deteriorated in a considerable measure. Greed for hoarding wealth, without regard for the means employed, is the general weakness from which the people suffer.[1] There are misers in society who feel no scruples in deputing a newly-wedded woman to give doles to beggars, thinking that because her palms are short, not much grain will be spent in charity. But there are also mischievous persons who often call for alms with the purpose of gratifying their lustful desire of feasting their eyes upon the comely aspect of the maid.[2] Telling lies has a popular vogue.[3] The life of the so-called religious pandits and astrologers is also not immune from blemish. Those reciting the Puranas and preaching people to desist from adultery are themselves attached to other women.[4] Their wives follow the same example, little fearing that the astrological computations will reveal their lapses.[5] There are Vaidyas who offer mercury dust to others for improving fecundation but are themselves eunuchs.[6] The relationship between a brother's wife and his younger brother has always been delicate in Hindu society. The 'Satsai' depicts such women, on the one hand, who are wasting away in shame and anxiety due to improper advances on the part of their husbands' brothers,[7] and also mentions such, on the other, as are pleased and happy in maintaining illicit liaison with them.[8] The lovers meet in the fields of standing crops stealthily and are mentally distressed when their rendezvous are destroyed.[9] Similar references are found in the 'Gatha-Sattasai' of King Hal and Bihari may be said to have borrowed them in his book, but we believe that he has depicted truth because amorous behaviours of a like type are to be met with even today among the uncultured swains.

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[1] 'Bihari Ratnākar', dohas Nos. 235, 481, 661.

[2] 'Bihari Ratnākar', 295.

[3] *Ibid.*, 345.

[4] *Ibid.*, 264.

[5] *Ibid.*, 575.

[6] *Ibid.*, 470.

[7] *Ibid.*, 85.

[8] *Ibid.*, 246, 602, 950.

[9] *Ibid.*, 135.

Superstitions reigned rampant in society. Women used to wear marks of soot on the forehead chiefly to thwart the evil effect of others' eyes.[10] There was a widespread belief in magic and charms. Enchanted bowls were operated for discovering thefts.[11] The flower of Gudahar (a kind of plant) was supposed to breed quarrels in homes where it could find its way.[12] Such a belief is prevalent even today about the thorn of an animal called Sahi in rural areas. The throbbing of a woman's left eye was considered as an evil omen and the possibility of rain by the chanting of the Malar tune was believed in.[13] Sir Jadunath Sirkar has mentioned wide vogue of superstitions in his works on the Moghul periods. Bihari speaks of the errant conduct of those in power[14] and the accounts of the age left by foreign travellers such as Manucci afford corroborating testimony to the poet's observations.

(2) Religious Condition

The religious condition as painted in the 'Satsai' is a close facsimile of the moral condition. Dharma has fallen down from its high pedestal and all are busy enunciating the superiority of their own faiths.[15] Both the Nirguna and the Saguna systems of devotion are current among the people;[16] but love of truth and honesty, which are the mainstay of religion, has evaporated, although the people are clinging fast to external symbols such as the Japmala (string of beads), the Tapt-mudra (the mark of a burn on the body), Tilaka (point of sandalwood paste on the forehead), etc.[17] The feeling of sincere surrender to God, which characterized religious life during the Bhakti movement, has become nearly extinct. Nevertheless, there were saints and Sadhus who would undergo self-afflicted torments. The institution of Panchagni (sitting absorbed in meditation with fires burning on the four sides and the sun blazing fiercely overhead) was one such practice.[18] There was a sect among the Muslim dervishes also whose adherents, following the example of the Hindu Augharas and Alakhiyas, bound their bodies in chains of large cowries and bended iron bars. They were called Malingas and were always immersed in meditation in unbroken silence.[19] Bihari has mentioned a number of astrological combinations in his dohas which points to universal faith in astrology.[20] Vanity, falsehood and deceit seem to have eaten into the bases of religion.[21]

(3) Popular Customs

Just as the moral and religious conditions as mentioned in the 'Satsai' are obtaining even today in our society, so popular customs alluded to by the poet reflect a society largely like ours. His maids observe the rituals of Ganesh Chaturthi[22] and Hartalika Tij of the bright half of the month of Bhadrapad.[23] The custom of showing the face of a newly-wedded bride as a ceremony was current as today.[24] Young maids could not meet their husbands directly and the thing became more difficult in the bride's paternal home.[25] Marriage was solemnized by joining the hands of the couple known as Pānigrahaṇa. Bihari's brides and bridegrooms exchange their hearts simultaneously with joining their palms.[26] The women of the 'Satsai' use broken pieces of brick for cleaning their feet before painting them with Mahawar which custom prevails even today among rustic maids.[27] Mention has been made by the poet of the Hindu women discarding the Churi and Muslim women discarding the Chadar on becoming widows.[28] A certain portion of oblation offered as Shraddha to the dead was set apart for the crows which practice obtains even today.[29] Bihari has also suggested that sons-in-law, residing in the home of the father-in-law, were regarded with ridicule.[30]

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[10] 'Bihari Ratnākar', 19.
[11] 'Bihari Ratnākar', 348.
[12] *Ibid.*, 595.
[13] *Ibid.*, 146.
[14] *Ibid.*, 71, 620.
[15] *Ibid.*, 581.
[16] *Ibid.*, 428.
[17] *Ibid.*, 142.
[18] *Ibid.*, 354.
[19] *Ibid.*, 230.
[20] *Ibid.*, 690, 707.
[21] *Ibid.*, 361, 371.
[22] *Ibid.*, 268, 269.
[23] *Ibid.*, 315, 470.
[24] *Ibid.*, 288.
[25] *Ibid.*, 207, 524.

(4) Political and Economic Condition

The 'Satsai' contains observations and references which shed light on the economic and political conditions of the age, too. Bihari alludes to the duality of government by which the populace were terribly distressed.[31] The administration, like sin and disease, pressed hard upon the weak and the downtrodden.[32] The feudal classes were generally well-off, but the economic condition of the Hindu chiefs had mostly started deteriorating. Bihari has made mention of the disappearing of the spring and 'the leafless thorny bough' which lends plausibility to the belief that the position of the Rajput chieftains was going from bad to worse, not only from the administrative but also from the economic point of view.[33] The villages were inhabited mostly by washermen, carriers of loads on donkeys' backs and potters who were extremely poor[34] and were completely ignorant of the cultured pursuits of life.[35] The village-folk endeavoured to supply their everyday needs by plying the spinning-wheel.[36] As I have demonstrated in a following section, four economic categories can be imagined in society. The first seems to comprise the ruling classes, the second the feudal lords and barons, the third the middle-income groups. The fourth category seems to consist of those being extremely poor and leading a life of the primitive level in an otherwise developed age. Mention has been made by the poet of the thatched houses of the poor alongside of the mansions of the rich although love frolics are carried on in these humble dwellings also.[37] Money was spent lavishly over betels and liquors by the ruling classes while tobacco seems to have been the favourite smoke of the common people.[37a]

It appears from several dohas of the 'Satsai' that men of ordinary rural families went abroad for economic reasons,[38] but that provision for safety of travel and communication was lacking woefully. Travellers were waylaid by bandits and marauders who made away with them and thrust their dead bodies into pits and hollows.[39] The story of the Bairagia Nala is yet fresh in our memory.

(5) Ability of Appreciation

Though Bihari was recipient of an abundance of royal favours and honours and his couplets had been richly rewarded, yet he does not seem satisfied with the appreciative capacity of his society. Regard being had to the general narrow greedy mentality of the people, referred to in the foregoing sections, it would be futile to expect that artists and poets enjoyed proper respect. Bihari has alluded to the lack of aesthetic acumen among the Danis (the charitable) of the day.[40] Those possessing merits and virtues were not respected[41] and the fools and those capable of mischiefs were honoured.[42] It seems that the poets and artists had suffered in prestige as compared with the precedent times. In these changed circumstances, they were obliged to reside among the uneducated rustics who simply derided their pursuits, dubbing them as 'civic' or 'civil' (Nagar).[43] Poets had to be dependent, it seems, on villagers who simply would smell and admire the Itra (scent) and then keep mum.[44] In a number of dohas, mention has been made of rustics and urbans simultaneously in such a manner as suggests that the gulf between the villages and the towns was widening steadily. It seems plausible to think that the villagers, appreciating in some cases the worth of art and poetry, elected yet to adopt an attitude of nonchalance or positive belittlement towards the poets because the latter had converted themselves into spokesmen of the leisured and affluent classes.[45]

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[26] 'Bihari Ratnākar', 259.

[27] 'Bihari Ratnākar', 483.

[28] *Ibid.*, 712.

[29] *Ibid.*, 434.

[30] *Ibid.*, 171.

[31] *Ibid.*, 357.

[32] *Ibid.*, 429.

[33] *Ibid.*, 437.

[34] *Ibid.*, 439.

[35] *Ibid.*, 438.

[36] *Ibid.*, 647.

[37] *Ibid.*, 262, 571.

[37a] *Ibid.*, 46.

[38] *Ibid.*, 703.

[39] *Ibid.*, 17, 475.

(6) AMUSEMENTS AND DECORATIONS

The portraits of the 'Satsai' speak volumes of the luxurious tastes of the times. The Italian traveller Manucci, giving first-hand description of the life in the court of Shah Jehan, has mentioned the keeping of countless grown-up women and concubines in the royal harems. The poets took inspiration from this phenomenon to describe the deeds and frolics of a variety of co-wives and female carriers of love messages in their erotic poems. Many a lovely picture of colours and their enchantments has been embodied in the 'Satsai' which illuminates the tastes of the ruling and feudal classes. Bihari compares the shining complexion of his maids to the blazing light of chandeliers with which mansions and palaces seem to be always flooded.[46] He also alludes to the white sheet of water (Jalchadar) which was made to fall down from some high level in the gardens of the rich and behind which rows of lighted candles gleamed and glittered in niches specially made for the purpose.[47] Affluent families had galleries adorned with a variety of pictures.[48] Tents of Ushir[49] (a particular species of scented shrub) and fountains, throwing up jets of water, were objects of elegant choice during the summer.[50] The poet has spoken, in one of his famous couplets, of the advisability of drowning oneself into dance, music, poesy and sexual pleasures.[51] In fact, by so doing, he has only interpreted the tastes and aptitudes of those who could be accounted the cream of the enlightened sector of the nation. It would not be unwarranted to imagine that the class of Prabin Rai Paturi, a celebrated prostitute of the time, whose dance the poet had witnessed in his young days in the court of Ram Shah of Orchha, was thriving.[52] Flying kites, flying pigeons, hunting birds with the aid of eagles, hunting the hart and playing polo were the favourite means of amusements.[53] Acrobatic feats like running on rope and spinning tops are also alluded to in the 'Satsai'.[54]

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[40] 'Bihari Ratnākar', 68.

[41] 'Bihari Ratnākar', 435.

[42] *Ibid.*, 380, 236.

[43] *Ibid.*, 437.

[44] *Ibid.*, 255, 624.

[45] *Ibid.*, 438, 276.

[46] *Ibid.*, 603.

[47] *Ibid.*, 340.

[48] *Ibid.*, 294.

[49] *Ibid.*, 244.

[50] *Ibid.*, 341.

[51] *Ibid.*, 94.

[52] *Ibid.*, 284.

(7) COSTUMES, ORNAMENTS AND TOILETTE

Though the erotic world of the 'Satsai' is governed mainly by the maids belonging to feudal and urban families, yet Bihari has also incorporated into his poetic range blooming and buxom damsels hailing from the countryside. Accordingly, plenty of material respecting costumes and toilette has come to be collected together in the pages of the 'Satsai'.

The toilette articles of high-class ladies are usually refined and valuable. They often wear very fine blue-coloured saris out of whose thin texture their limbs send forth lovely rays of lustre.[55] These saris sometimes weigh five tolas or one chattak.[56] (According to Manucci, the begums and princesses were fond of using fine muslins and the weight of an article of clothing did not exceed one ounce.) The borders of these saris are generally embroidered in gold. Chinautia Chir or Chunari covered with fine-coloured dots seems to be the favourite wear.[57] Young girls adorn their budding or blooming youth with Dhup-chhahin cloth (a species of cloth showing patches of different hues in the light of the sun).[58] Sadali, bodice and Kusumbh-coloured red blouse are worn on the bust.[59]

The 'Satsai' women wear points of soot and bindis of red, yellow and black colour on the forehead.[60] Bindis set with diamond were used in affluent families.[61] Tikuli was also in common vogue.[62] Bihari has mentioned Kesar, sandalwood and paste prepared from mixture of pounded rice and turmeric as things used for adorning the forehead.[63] Women of low families used for this purpose bindis made from flowers of a plant called Sanai, and feathers of a golden-winged insect known as Swarna-Keetak.[64] Mention has been made by the poet of a long and pointed Tilak of the shape of a spear.[64] Even today this mode of decorating the nose is found current among the old-fashioned women of rural households.

The ornaments mentioned in the 'Satsai' include Tika for the forehead, Khubhi and Tarauna for the ear, and Natha, Besar, Lawang and Seenk for the nose.[65] The Besars used in the high-class families were studded with sapphire and also had pearl pendants.[66] Toilette for the hair has no mention in the 'Satsai'. Wreaths and necklaces have been referred to as ornaments for the neck and breast. Urvashis of diamond, Laris and Haes of pearls, Lar of Poat as well as wreaths of Maulsiri and Gunja and Seep have been often mentioned.[67] No ornament for the wrist has been alluded to. Mundaris or Chhallas (rings) seem to be the common ornament for the fingers.[68] These rings were set with miniature glasses in which the wearer looked at her reflection as also that of her lovers.[69] The famous poet Tulsi has also spoken of such a ring being used by Sita, the celebrated spouse of Ram Chandra. Kinkini for the waist, Nupur, Payal and Chuda for the feet, and Anwat as well as Bichhiya for the toes enjoyed the vogue.[70]

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[53] 'Bihari Ratnākar', 363, 374, 178, 45, 300.

[54] *Ibid.*, 94, 193, 206.

[55] 'Bihari Ratnākar', 538.

[56] *Ibid.*, 340.

[57] *Ibid.*, 626.

[58] *Ibid.*, 70.

[59] *Ibid.*, 189, 190.

[60] *Ibid.*, 271.

[61] *Ibid.*, 137.

[62] *Ibid.*, 42.

[63] *Ibid.*, 93, 180.

[64] *Ibid.*, 306, 685.

[64a] *Ibid.*, 104.

[65] *Ibid.*, 105, 6, 20, 106, 143, 306, 685, 6.

[66] *Ibid.*, 685.

[67] *Ibid.*, 122, 339, 237, 90, 252, 362, 376, 377, 204.

[68] *Ibid.*, 338, 500, 448.

[69] *Ibid.*, 611.

Toilette articles include Kajal, Anjan, Angrag, Argaja, Mehandi, Mahawar, camphor, rose-water and sandalwood paste.[71]

We have tried to reconstruct a picture of society as that seems to have been in the period which witnessed the production of works like the 'Satsai'. It is true that tradition has been also responsible for the drawings in the book under review, but it would be difficult to deny the sociological value of the allusions made by the poet. The study of works like the 'Satsai' of Bihari by the student of social history will, in fact, illuminate the pace and proportion of the changes which have occurred in Indian society, down the ages.

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[70] 'Bihari Ratnākar', 208, 209, 441, 493, 418.

[71] *Ibid.*, 35, 507, 5, 697, 334, etc.

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THE TROJAN HORSE IN INDIA: A QUERY

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I

The relations between India and the Mediterranean world are a captivating chapter for research, in which more than once phantasy has justified hypotheses and boldness deductions. The Indo-Greek concordances in connection with religious beliefs, philosophic ideas, narrative literature, science and art, have awakened the interest of Oriental scholars.

There are many possibilities for interpretation in this matter:[1] Indian importation from Greece or Greek importation from India; both India and Greece equally indebted to a third source, from the ancient Near East. Not all similitudes are, however, consecutive of borrowings, in one direction or another, as they could just as well be correlated to the Indo-European fund. What the Indian and Greek civilizations had in common could be explained by a parallelism derived from a linguistic and social analogy of structure. The congruencies may have another, more archaic source, namely pre-Indo-European, or, to end with, they may be the reflex of some anthropological coincidences or *anthropismes*, as Clermont-Ganneau terms them, explainable by general human representations. In the gamut of these possibilities, the choice is sometimes made under the sign of the Greek miracle or under the fascination of the Oriental mirage.

II

The story of the Trojan Horse is found, too, in the file of common Indian and Greek motifs. In the Indian version, this appears as the wooden elephant. This piece has long been classified as an Indian borrowing from the Hellenic world, naturally Indianized.

The legend of the Trojan Horse has been, both for the ancient and for the modern, as famous as it is obscure. The uncertainty is reflected in the variety of interpretations presented by the Graeco-Latin exegesis (*de hoc equo varia in historiis lecta sunt*),[2] of which some have been adopted by modern philology. According to E. Benoist, the wooden horse is, in the language of ancient poetry, a metaphor for ship.[3] For others, the Trojan Horse might be a simple war engine, used as a battering-ram against the wall of Ilion.[4]

Modern exegesis has dropped the rationalist explanations of the Homeric episode in favour of a magico-religious interpretation. In this sense I mention W. F. Jackson Knight's attempt, by which he stressed the magical implications of the stratagem. The wooden horse is no longer to be considered a war engine but a magical means destined to undo the symbolic force of the city wall? 'That it belongs rather to a context of magic and religion than to military tactics is a natural inference from a number of strange references':[1] The interpretation in the sense of *obsidional* magic would confirm Gilbert Murray's point of view that Homer has relinquished the description of the fall of Troy, as the magical means used were contrary to his rationalist mind.[2] In connection with this interpretation, Pierre-Maxime Schuhl's working hypothesis on the funerary significance of the horse-receptacle may be mentioned. The French scholar correlates the Trojan Horse with the enigmatical brazen horse mentioned in Gyges' story at the beginning of Book II of Plato's Republic. Closely connected with the inland Poseidon, the horse appears as a chthonian animal, bearer of demoniac and dreadful powers.[3]

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[1] A. B. Keith, *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, Oxford, 1928, p. 354; cf. P.-M. Schuhl, *Essai sur la formation de la pensée grecque*,^{2} Paris, 1949, p. 18.

[2] See excerpts from Servius' commentary on *Aeneid* II, 15 apud L. A. Mackay, *The Earthquake-horse*, *Classical Philology*, XLI (1946), p. 150.

[3] *Les Oeuvres de Virgile*, Paris, 1869; *Enéide*, p. 72 (b. II, v. 15); cf. L. Preller, *Griechische Mythologie*,^{3} Berlin, I, 1872, p. 483; II, 1875, p. 377.

[4] Cf. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, VII, 202 (56).

No less interesting is the archaeological corroboration of the non-rationalist explanations of the story we deal with. Examining the chariot scenes on the art documents of ancient Greece, K. M. Kolobova arrives at most interesting conclusions as regards the magical significance of the wooden horse (*dourcios hippos*).[4] The author analyses in this sense *inter alia* a scene of horse-worship on a krater from the Mycenaean Ialysus (Rhodes), which represents five figures with stretched arms in a ritual gesture towards an adorned horse. The arrows in the hands of the figures serve, according to K. M. Kolobova, to repel the harmful powers of the animal. The oldest Cretan representation of the horse occurs on a seal-impression from the Little Palace at Knossos: the gigantic outline of the animal is superimposed on the intaglio of a vessel provided both with sails and rowers (Fig. 1). K. M. Kolobova rightly remarks that the huge body, which puzzles the scholars, pleads for the ritual value of the horse, while G. Glotz stands for a materialistic interpretation, namely that the seal might illustrate the arrival of the horse on the Island of Crete.[5] According to A. Evans, the horse on the seal-impression indicates the cargo of the ship, which, judging by the Oriental arrangement of the horse's mane, might have originated in Syrian ports.[6] The Indo-Europeans, horse-folk *par excellence*, are those who have introduced, according to the Hittite King Mursil, that 'eastern animal' into Hither Asia at the beginning of the second millennium, whence it passed on to Egypt and Crete, and subsequently to the Greek mainland.[7]

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[1] *The Wooden Horse*, *Classical Philology*, XXV (1930), p. 360 (apud P.-M. Schuhl, *Revue Archéologique*, VII (1936), pp. 184-185); cf. by the same author, *The Wooden Horse at the Gate of Troy*, *Classical Journal*, XXVII (1932), pp. 254–262. For another account of the episode also interpreted in a magical sense, *see* E. S. McCarthy, *The 'Wooden Horse' and Folk-lore of Touching*, *Classical Journal*, XXI (1925-1926), pp. 112–131.

[2] *The Rise of the Greek Epic*,^{3} Oxford, 1924, p. 56 (apud P.-M. Schuhl, *Essai sur la formation de la pensée grecque*, p. 45. I tried to locate this reference in the fourth edition, but could not find it. This is all the more surprising as it is stated in the preface that the new edition is unchanged except for a few small corrections in detail).

[3] *Le 'cheval de Troie'*, *Revue Archéologique*, VII (1936), pp. 183–188. It appears that the author has taken up again his hypothesis in the essay *Platon et le cheval de Troie* in *La fabulation platonicienne*, Paris, 1947, pp. 75ff., a work which I could not consult. For the rôle of the horse in cults, *see* L. Malten, *Das Pferd im Totenglauben*, *Jahrb. des deutsch. arch. Inst.*, XXIX (1914), pp. 179–255.

[4] *Iz istorii rannegrečeskogo obščestva* (*O. Rodos IX-VII vv. do n.e.*), Leningrad, 1951, pp. 52–64 (Chap. I, 4: *K istorii odnoi freski*); cf. S. Ja. Lur'e, *Krito-mikenskie nadpisi i Gomer*, *Vestnik Drevney Istorii*, 4, 1956, p. 12.

[5] *La civilisation égéenne*, Paris, 1923, p. 194.

[6] *The Palace of Minos*, London, II, 1, 1928, pp. 243f. (fig. 141); IV, 2, 1935, p. 827.

[7] The opinion has been put forward that the horse reached Crete by the way of Greek mainland (M. P. Nillson, *The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion and its Survival in Greek Religion*, Lund, 1927, p. 22).

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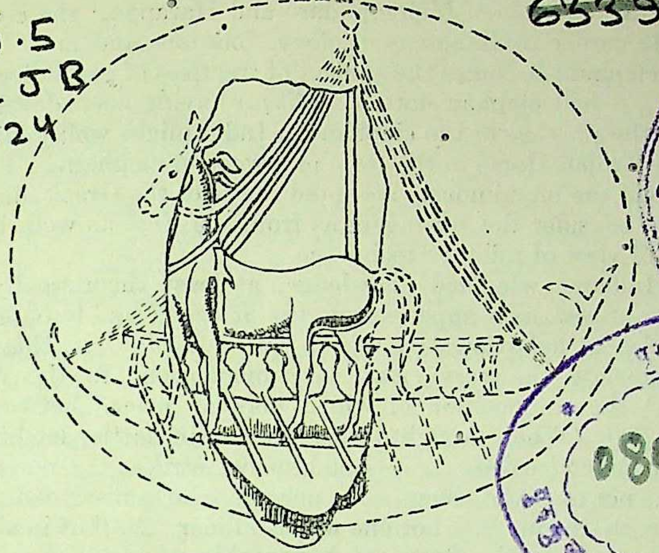

FIG. 1. Sailing Vessel with Figure of Horse superimposed, Knossos (from *The Palace of Minos*, II, 1, fig. 141).

The story of the Trojan Horse which we find in the *Odyssey*, then in the works of the Greek tragedians and in the *Aeneid*, has come down to us in a late version, the initial sense of the tradition having been lost. The Cretan theme of horse-worship, documented on pottery and in frescoes, echoes also in the Homeric poems, in which we become aware of the decline of the horse in favour of the hero, who begins to put into the shade the miraculous virtues of his vehicle.[1] The stratagem of wily Odysseus finds its explanation in hippolatry, which is practised by the Trojans,[2] called by Euripides *philippoi*. A Corinthian aryballos of the sixth century B.C. shows a modified version of the wooden horse. The scene, which catches the very moment in which the Achaeans emerged from the animal's hollow belly and begin to fight the Trojans, seems rather to picture a battle for the horse.[3]

III

The motif of the stratagem of the wooden animal appears to be imported, according to general opinion, from the Hellenic world. In Indian literature (drama and narratives)[4] the Trojan Horse seems to have been replaced by the elephant. The zoological version corresponds, according to H. de Willman-Grabowska, to an adaptation *à l'indienne*, to local colour.[5] The elephant, an animal impressive in its size, strength and docility, occupied an important place both in the fauna of India and in the fancy of its inhabitants.[6] Depicted already in protohistoric times on the pre-Aryan seals of Mohenjo-daro and Harappa,[1] the elephant has a remarkable career in Indian mythology, folk-lore and art. At the same time, the elephant becomes the subject of treatises of speciality (*gajaśāstra*, *hastisūtra*), a real elephant-lore (*gajaśikṣā*) having been developed.

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[1] K. M. Kolobova, *op. cit.*, pp. 58–60.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 62.

[3] W. Fröhner, *Troianische Vasenbilder, Jahrb. des deutsch. arch. Inst.*, VII (1892), pp. 28–31 (pl. II).

[4] *Pratijñāyaugandharāyaṇa* of Bhāsa, *Udenavatthu* apud *Dhammapada*, 21–23, *Kathāsaritsāgara*.

[5] *L'Inde antique et la civilisation indienne*, Paris, 1933, p. 388.

[6] See Ch. Lassen, *Indische Alterthumskunde*, I, 1847, pp. 303–315; cf. A. Gubernatis, *Mythologie zoologique*, II, Paris, 1874, p. 95.

Thus the prestige of the elephant in India might well justify the adoption of the Trojan Horse in the form of a wooden elephant. Passing, however, beyond the unanimously accepted thesis of the Greek filiation, I shall attempt to consider the stratagem as from the East as well, but not from the point of view of military technique.

The Indians, who had knowledge, at least theoretically, of a very precise law of war, as it appears from the *Śāstras*,[2] had to observe in battle certain rules of behaviour, that is, a fair attitude. In this respect one must appreciate the very clear recommendations in the *Mānavadharmaśāstra*,[3] the composition of which may be placed between 200 B.C. and A.D. 200: 'When he fights with his foes in battle, let him not strike with weapons concealed. . . . Let him not strike . . . nor one who sits down . . ., nor one who sleeps . . ., nor one who is disarmed . . ., nor one afflicted (with sorrow) . . ., nor one who is in fear . . ., (but in all these cases let him) remember the duty (of honourable warriors)'.[4] All these are included in the lapidary formula in a verse near the above-mentioned passage: 'Let him ever act without guile and on no account treacherously'.[5] In discordance with the ethical tone of the behaviour prescribed by the *Manusmṛti*, Kauṭilya,[6] who in certain aspects reminds one of Machiavelli, talks about forms of treacherous fights.[7] Among the contrivances recommended for the capture of the enemy, the *Arthaśāstra* XII, 5 mentions the following: 'Fiery spies, hidden in an underground chamber, or in a tunnel, or inside a secret wall, may slay the enemy when the latter is carelessly amusing himself in a pleasure park or any other place of recreation'.[8] A still more clever trick is the one described in Book XIII, which deals with strategic means to capture a fortress: 'When the enemy is fond of elephants, spies may delude him with the sight of a beautiful elephant reared by the officer-in-charge of elephant forests. When he desires to capture the elephant, he may be taken to a remote desolate part of the forest, and killed or carried off as a prisoner. This explains the fate of kings addicted to hunting'.[9]

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[1] E. Mackay, *La civilisation de l'Indus*, Paris, 1936, pp. 72, 73, 81; pl. 13, figs. 6, 9. For the Sanskrit terms of Dravidian origin regarding the elephant, *see* W. Kirfel, *Die Lehnworte des Sanskrit aus den Substratsprachen und ihre Bedeutung für die Entwicklung der indischen Kultur*, *Lexis*, III, 2 (1953), pp. 272, 284.

[2] *See* A. Barth, *Oeuvres*, III, Paris, 1917, p. 434.

[3] Ed. J. Jolly, London, 1887; trans. G. Bühler, *SBE*, XXV.

[4] *MānDhŚ* VII, 90–93: *na kūṭair āyudhair hanyād yudhyamāno raṇe ripūn . . . na ca hanyāt . . . nāsīnam . . . na suptam . . . na nirāyudham . . . nārtam . . . na bhītam . . . satām dharmam anusmaran.*

[5] *MānDhŚ* VII, 104: *amāyayaiva varteta na kathaṃcana māyayā.*

[6] Ed. T. Gaṇapatisastri, Trivandrum, 1924; trans. R. Shamasastry, 3rd ed., Mysore, 1929. According to the translator, Kauṭilya lived and wrote his work somewhere between 321 and 300 B.C. (Preface, p. vii).

[7] *Arthaśāstra* VII, 16; X, 3; X, 5. Cf. *Agnipurāṇa*: 'If one be much weaker than the other, he may allowably recourse to stratagems' (H. H. Wilson, *On the Art of War as known to the Hindus*, in *Works*, IV, London, 1864, p. 304).

[8] *pramadavanavihārāṇām anyatame vā vihārasthane pramattaṃ bhūmigṛhasuruṅgāgūḍhabhittipraviṣṭās tīkṣṇā hanyuḥ.*

[9] *Arthaśāstra* XIII, 2: *hastikamaṃ vā nāgavanapālā hastinā lakṣaṇyena pralobhayeyuḥ pratipannaṃ gahanam ekāyanaṃ vātinīya ghatayeyur baddhvā vāpahareyuḥ/tena mṛgayākāmo vyākhyātaḥ.*

The stratagem mentioned above prepares, as it seems, the atmosphere for the wile of the artificial elephant described to us by the *Kathāsaritsāgara* II, 12. After having consulted with his ministers, the King Pradayota (Pāli Pajjota) of Avanti made a large wooden elephant, the very image of a live one, with which, once filled with warriors, he was to make prisoner the dashing hero Udayana (Pāli Udena), the King of Vatsa. This ruler of Kauśāmbī, a passionate hunter, is informed of the presence in the Vindhya forest of the counterfeit animal deftly painted, as specified in the Buddhaghoṣa's commentary on verses 21–23 of the *Dhammapada*.[1] Leaving behind his troops, Udayana approaches the beautiful elephant, holding in his hand a melodious lute to charm his prey. 'The elephant, too, for its part, lifting up its ears and flapping them, as if through delight in the music, kept advancing and then, suddenly issuing from the artificial elephant, a body of soldiers in full armour surrounded that King of Vatsa'.[2]

Exceeding the normal frame of a simple stratagem, the episode of the wooden elephant in the story of King Udayana presents, I think, a magical feature which is, besides, not foreign to the mythic history of the elephant in Asia. The elephant appears as an animal with special powers. The elephant of Indian folk-lore has on its forehead a pearl which is invested with magical qualities.[3] The elephants have also the power of flying through the air and can take the form of rain-clouds. In a passage from the *Mahāvastu*,[4] it is related that the King of Benares 'had an elephant which was virtuous, and of great might, force and power. Through its force and power Benares and the province of Kāśi were immune from afflictions and calamities'.[5] The mere appearance of this animal, provided that it was 'caparisoned, clothed in a net-work of gold, regal, royal and noble',[6] brought about the deliverance of the city of Mithilā, in Videha, from a demoniac plague.[7] Bodhisattva, under the form of that elephant, chased away all the demons both from the Mithilā and Vaiśālī.[8] The tradition of the white elephant in South-East Asia is connected with this sacred zoomorphism. In one of its former existences Buddha had assumed the form of an elephant with six tusks.[9] In the Indian epic, demons can adopt the form of elephants which the *Mahābhārata* calls *dānavanāgas* (demonic elephants).[10] The *Arthaśāstra* advises experts in catching elephants to 'catch such elephants as are possessed of auspicious characteristics and good character'.[1] The same work recommends: 'on new moon and full moon days, commanders shall perform sacrifices to *bhūtas* for the safety of elephants'.[2] These texts afford a more precise meaning to the explanation given by the Arabian traveller Sulaymān, for the absence of elephants in China: 'they are not allowed to enter the country, being animals of ill-omen'.[3]

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[1] *See* T. W. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, London, 1926, pp. 4f.

[2] Trans. C. H. Tawney, I, Calcutta, 1880, pp. 72f.

[3] W. Crooke, *The Popular Religion and Folk-lore of Northern India*, II, Westminster, 1896, p. 240.

[4] Ed. E. Senart, I, Paris, 1882, pp. 287f.; trans. J. J. Jones, London, 1949, p. 239. I take advantage of this opportunity to express my sincerest thanks to my friend A. Zigmund-Cerbu (Paris), who pointed out the text to me, favouring me, at the same time, with a number of valuable suggestions and bibliographical information on this topic.

[5] *tasya dāni rājño hastināgo kṛtapuṇyo maheśākhyo mahātejo mahānubhāvo yasya tejānubhāvena vārāṇasī kāśijanapado nirītiko nirupadravaḥ.*

[6] *alamkṛtaṃ hemajālena cchannaṃ rājārhaṃ rājabhogyam udāram.* Cf. the stately aspect of the counterfeit animal in the story of King Udayana; cf. also the magical purport of ornaments in general.

[7] *sarvo amanuṣyavyādhi praśamiṣyati.*

[8] *sarve amanuṣyakāḥ palānāḥ.*

[9] J. S. Speyer, *Über den Bodhisattva als Elephant mit sechs Hauzähnen*, *ZDMG*, 57 (1903), pp. 305–310. For the *Chaddanta Jātaka* (*Jātaka* No. 514), *see* Ed. Chavannes, *Cinq cents contes et apologues*, IV, Paris, 1934, pp. 99ff. As to the beliefs around the white elephant, see *ERE*, I, p. 514.

[10] E. W. Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, Strassburg, 1915, pp. 17f. Cf. Skr. *ibha-* 'elephant' or 'one from whom fear is gone', name of a demon (?) in *Ṛgveda* VI, 20, 8

In connection with the artificial animal motif it seems pertinent to refer to the curious Sanskrit term *ḍittha-*, which, according to the great Dictionary of Saint Petersburg, has retained with lexicographers two acceptances: 'a wooden elephant' and 'a good looking, dark-coloured young man proficient in every science'.[4]

IV

In confronting the motif of the wooden elephant with the legend of the Trojan Horse, the opinion of scholars is unanimous in explaining the coincidence by a western idea.[5] Most daring arguments have been put forward in support of this interpretation. A. Weber, for instance, sets the motif in the string of Homeric influences on Buddhist legends and Indian epic,[6] thus echoing Dio Chrysostom's fanciful information that Homer was sung among the Indians, translated into their own language.[7] Such hypotheses are in agreement with the tendencies, once in fashion, which saw everywhere Athens' traces in the Indus valley, from astronomy and minting to religious beliefs and philosophic speculations. The civilizing import of Alexander's campaign has been over-estimated. According to V. A. Smith, the Macedonian invasion had no direct effect upon Indian ideas and institutions.[8] The same historian considers as 'grossly exaggerated' the statements of Philostratus, the author of *Vita Apollonii*, concerning the diffusion in Panjāb of knowledge of the Greek language, literature and mythology.[9]

There are elements which are not made clear, even by an interpretation of the counterfeit elephant stratagem from a rationalist point of view, and as a borrowing from the Mediterranean basin. In ancient times Asia has not been indebted to Europe in military matters. The sword of Philip's son has not modified Indian military science, which has remained

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(cf. A. Bergaigne, *La religion védique*, III, Paris, 1883, p. 16, n.1; E. Ghosh, *Studies on Rigvedic Deities—Astronomical and Meteorological*, *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, XXVIII, No. 1 (1932), p. 107).

[1] II, 2: *janācārān hastino gṛhṇīyuḥ.* Cf. Skr. *bhadra-*'auspicious, propitious', a term applied to a particular kind of elephants.

[2] II, 32: *bhūtānām krṣṇasandhījyāḥ senānyaḥ śuklasandhiṣu.*

[3] *Voyage du marchand arabe Sulaymān en Inde et en Chine rédigé en 851 . . .* traduit de l'arabe par G. Ferrand, Paris, 1922, p. 71.

[4] *śyāmarūpo yuvā vidvānsundaraḥ priyadarśanaḥ/sarvaśāstrārthavettā ca ḍittha ity abhidhīyate* (*Śabdakalpadruma*). Cf. *ḍavittha-*'a wooden antelope' (*ibid.*). *Mahābhāṣya* (ad Pāṇini V, 1, 119, post vārtt. 5) records the technical term *ḍittha-*. Cf. *Kāśikāvṛtti* I, 2, 45; *Bādarāyaṇa Brahmasūtra* II, 4, 20.

[5] *See* M. Winternitz, *Geschichte der Indischen Litteratur*, Leipzig, II, p. 155; III, p. 179; A. B. Keith, *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, pp. 355f.; H. de Willman-Grabowska, *L'Inde antique et la civilisation indienne*, p. 388.

[6] *Über das Rāmāyaṇa*, *Abh. Akad. Wiss. zu Berlin*, 1870, pp. 12ff.; *Die Griechen in Indien*, *Sitz. Akad. Wiss. zu Berlin*, 1890, pp. 914f. *Contra*, Wecker in *Real-Encyclopädie*, s.v. *India*.

[7] *Orationes*, LIII, 6.

[8] *The Oxford History of India*,[2] Oxford, 1928, p. 139.

[9] *The Indian Travels of Apollonius of Tyana*, *ZDMG*, 68 (1914), p. 334.

faithful to the traditional 'four-fold' army (elephants, chariots, cavalry and infantry). The *dhanurveda* conferred to India a theoretical superiority in the art of war, even if on the battlefield they were defeated by foreign invaders.[1] Were the current explanation accepted, one would expect to find a strong echo of the Trojan wile in technical literature, in which much stress is laid on these treacherous means. One cannot imagine the Indian mind not to have been surprised by the wooden horse stratagem, which has given way to so many interpretations in the Graeco-Roman world. Moreover, the very zoological variant of the elephant raises a doubt as to whether it is actually a loan. In spite of the tendency of the Hindus to Indianize borrowings, a trait of character stressed by the Muslim traveller Alḇerūnī, the adaptation, that is the transformation of the horse into elephant, is to be wondered at, all the more so as the horse is well known to India, being *par excellence* the religious animal of the monarch.

In the problem under discussion, archaeology offers a notable piece which has repeatedly awakened the interest of scholars: a relief from Gandhāra showing, outlined on the wall of a city, a horse mounted on wheels, with four figures to it. Some thirty-five years ago H. Hargreaves for the first time published this sculpture[2] (Fig. 2), interpreting it as an Indian *démarquage* of the classic story of the Trojan Horse, while J. Allan[3] inclined to the opinion that the relief is a faithful copy of a Graeco-Roman model. For A. Foucher,[4] the last archaeologist to have dealt with this

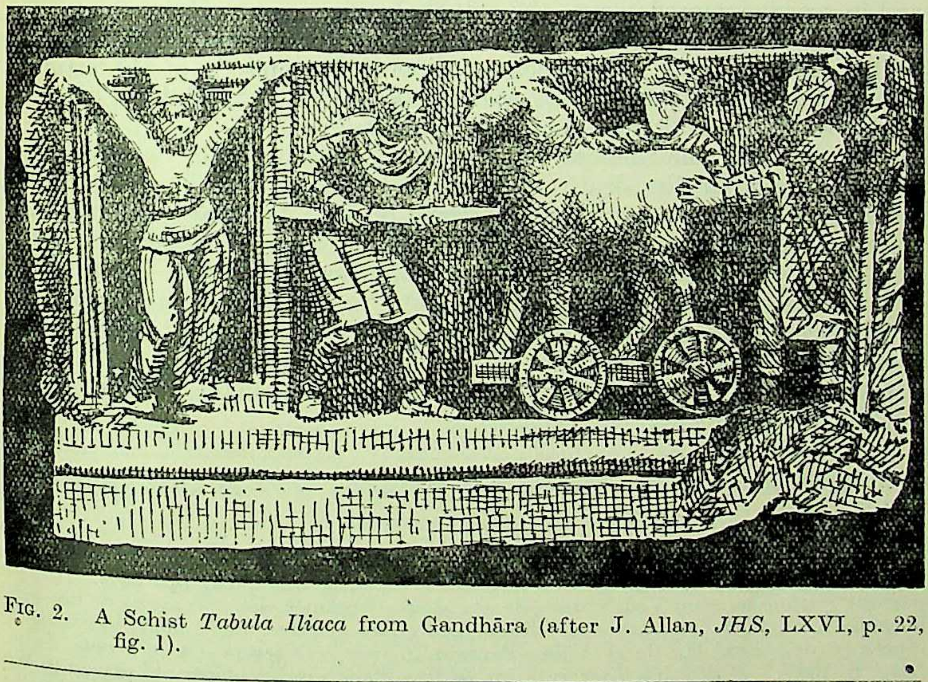

FIG. 2. A Schist *Tabula Iliaca* from Gandhāra (after J. Allan, *JHS*, LXVI, p. 22, fig. 1).

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[1] H. H. Wilson, *Works*, IV, p. 290.

[2] *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, 1923-24, pp. 125f., pl. XLI, c (apud J. Allan); cf. *Illustrated London News*, 9th March, 1929, p. 394.

[3] *A Tabula Iliaca from Gandhara, Journal of Hellenic Studies*, LXVI (1946), pp. 21–23. Cf. Olaf Hansen, *Ein nicht identifiziertes Gandhārarelief, Beiträge zur indischen Philologie und Altertumskunde*, Hamburg, 1951, pp. 192–197, particularly pp. 195-196.

[4] *Le cheval de Troie au Gandhāra, Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 1950, pp. 407–412.

typical specimen of the Indo-Greek art of Gandhāra, it constitutes a decorative fragment from the frieze of a Buddhist monument-*stūpa*.

Both the decoration and the characters in the scene are changed as we consider it either from the West or from the East. In the first variant, which corresponds to a *Tabula Iliaca*, the illustration is Graeco-Roman: the main figure on the right is Laocoon, who thrusts a spear into the chest of the horse; the perfidious Sinon pushes the animal forward. Between these two figures is depicted Priam standing on the other side of the horse. On the left Cassandra is represented rushing out of a gateway (the Scaian Gate of Troy); holding up her hands in horror, she tries to stop the animal from entering the city. The second variant, which corresponds to a *jātaka*, has a Buddhist imagery: good Bodhisattva opposes the advance of the war engine, which is pushed by bad Devadatta. Priam is changed into the King of Benares, and in front of the city-gates watches, frightened, the protective deity (*nagaradevatā*), who will until the last, apparently, be quiet, due to the intervention of the Bodhisattva.[1]

The interesting aspect in this Buddhist adaptation is that the zoology remains unaltered, the horse not being changed into an elephant, as was to be expected in an atmosphere so very Indian. At the same time the relief represents, according to A. Foucher's expression, 'the Indian adaptation of a scene, the original sense of which had already become obscure'.[2] The motif could be transposed in its fanciful shape to India, where it encountered the magical conception, authentically Indian, of the elephant and its wooden succedaneum, the actual significance of which is lost. For instance, Bhāmaha (end of the fifth century or beginning of the sixth century A.D.), writer on poetics, considered the episode of the artificial elephant of Bhāsa's *Pratijñāyaugandharāyaṇa* to be a childish incident which would rather fit the tale than the drama.[3]

From one of the Chinese versions of the *Aśokāvadāna*,[4] we learn that immediately after the death of Bindusāra, the sceptre passed into the hands of his son Aśoka. Being informed of what had happened, Aśoka's elder brother, Susīma, who was engaged at that time in a punitive expedition against the rebellious kingdom of Takṣaśilā, angrily returned to Pāṭaliputra. 'Aśoka watched himself the eastern gates and ordered a mechanical white elephant to be set up, on which an image of Aśoka was made up'. Round about it a ditch was dug, filled with embers and covered with grass. Rushing towards the royal elephant in order to get hold of Aśoka, Susīma fell into it.[5]

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[1] *Le cheval de Troie au Gandhāra*, *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 1950, pp. 408ff.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 410.

[3] *See* A. B. Keith, *The Sanskrit Drama*, Oxford, 1924, p. 102.

[4] J. Przyluski, *La légende de l'empereur Açoka*, Paris, 1923, pp. 234f. 'On lit partout qu'Açoka, pour l'édification de ses sujets, organisa des spectacles et des processions, montrant des images de dieux, des chars célestes, des images d'éléphants sacrés et des feux' (L. de la Vallée-Poussin, *L'Inde aux temps des Mauryas*, Paris, 1930, p. 109). Cf. Smith's interpretation of two black marble elephants placed to the fortress-palace of New Delhi, where they have been set up by Shāhjahān (*Akbar the Great Mogul 1542–1605*,^{2} Oxford, pp. 93ff.). In this connection one can mention the colossal statue of an elephant from Elephanta Isle.

[5] The episode in the Sanskrit text of the *Divyāvadāna* (373, 15) is described as follows: *Rādhaguptena* (*i.e.* Aśoka's first minister) *ca pūrvasmin dvāre yantramayo hastī sthāpitaḥ/Aśokasya ca pratimāṃ parikhāṃ khanayitvā khādirair aṅgārais ca pūrayitvā tṛṇenācchādya pāṃśunākīrṇaḥ/Susīmaś cābhihito yadi śakṣyase 'śokaṃ ghātayituṃ rājeti/sa yāvad* (sic !) *pūrvadvāraṃ gataḥ Aśokena saha yotsyāmīti/aṅgārapūrṇāyāṃ parikhāyāṃ patitaḥ/tatraiva cānayena vyasanam āpannaḥ.* With regard to this place, cf. the commentaries in *Asia Major, Hirth Anniversary Volume*, London, 1923, p. 642.

Even if the action in the two scenes differs—in the relief the wooden horse is directed against the city wall, while in Aśoka's story the mechanical elephant has the rôle of a protector—the similarity of the two legends is enhanced by the sacred atmosphere.

On the other hand, the idea of the stratagem is also traced in the Egyptian popular tales, without, however, magical implications, corresponding probably to general human inventiveness, irrespective of geographical co-ordinates. Thutia hides 500 soldiers in jars which are to be carried into a town which has to be conquered. This motif can also be found in the *Arabian Nights*, in which the chieftain, in order to smuggle his forty robbers into Ali Baba's place, conceals his gang in jars, which are carried on the backs of animals and not on the backs of men as in Egyptian narratives.[1]

The motif can be considered to be of Greek inspiration, the very evidence of ordinary facts perhaps bearing witness to it, although absolute certainty is out of the question. On such matters, indeed, certainty is replaced by a subjective plausibility. In the light of the data mentioned above I consider myself to be in a position to present another explanation. A non-rationalist interpretation of the counterfeit horse stratagem has been attempted in the Greek world, and also in India some elements made plausible a similar explanation of the artificial elephant. Therefore it is not surprising if the motif should respond to a certain magico-religious conception to be found on a vast area of civilization from Indus to Crete. It is apparently justified that, within this area, coincidences should not always be considered as late loans, but survivals of a common fund of thought.[2]

The attempt made in the present article to change the familiar angle of interpreting the wooden animal motif is perhaps but a simple working hypothesis, which might appear even as an invitation to a *credo quia impossibile*. It is no less true that the new aspect of the stratagem, considered this time from the East and from a new standpoint, should find an actual confirmation, as a consequence of future investigations, especially archaeological, which are destined to fill the gap in our present knowledge. Until then, this attempt at shaking the classical interpretation, considered as the sole valid, remains merely a contribution to uncertainty and a justification of the question mark attached to the title of the present paper.

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[1] G. Maspero, *Les contes populaires de l'Egypte ancienne*, Paris, 1882, pp. XXVff.; cf. Fr. von der Leyen, *Zur Entstehung des Märchens*, III, *Archiv für das Studium der Neueren Sprachen und Literaturen*, LIX (1905), p. 6; A. B. Keith, *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 355.

[2] P.-M. Schuhl, *Essai sur la formation de la pensée grecque*, pp. 17f. Axel Persson speaks about an '*afr-asische Grundkultur*' in the second millennium before Christian era (*Legende und Mythos in ihrem Verhältnis zu Bild und Gleichnis im vorgeschichtlichen Griechenland*, in *ΔRAΓMA Martino P. Nillson* . . . dedicatum, Lund, 1939, p. 401). Cf. V. Gordon Childe, *India and the West before Darius*, *Antiquity*, XIII (1939), pp. 11-12. With regard to this problem, one may also suggest a reference to Pisani's articles on the 'Indo-Mediterranean culture', the last being published in *Rivista degli Studi Orientali*, XXXII (1957), pp. 765–768.

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A NOTE ON THE NESARI COPPERPLATE GRANT OF RĀSHṬRAKŪṬA GOVINDA III

By G. S. Gai

In a note on this inscription published in Volume XXII, No. 1-Letters, pp. 133-34 of this *Journal* Dr. R. C. Majumdar has commented on the reading and interpretation of line 37 of the text edited by G. H. Khare in the *Sources of the Medieval History of the Dekkan*, Vol. I, pp. 15–26. He has supplied the reading of the portion after *api nāma* . . . in that line pertaining to the Vaṅgāla king Dharmapāla and his *lāñchhana*. This portion was left blank by Mr. Khare in his published text. It may be pointed out, in this connection, that when Mr. Khare edited the record, he had access only to the impressions of unsatisfactory nature. But later, when the original plates were secured by him, he made a number of improvements in his published text and included them in Appendix I under Addenda and Corrigenda on pp. 82–84 of the same book. Stating that the correction in line 37 is an important one, Mr. Khare has read the portion after *api nāma* as *kāta(t-ta)thā Bhagavati khyātāṁ Dharmād=Vaṁgāla-bhūmipāt* ||. Unfortunately, this section on Addenda and Corrigenda was not brought to the notice of Dr. Majumdar.

Even in the corrected text of Mr. Khare, it should be read as *Tārā* before *Bhagavati* and not *tathā* as read by him. Dr. Majumdar reads *Bhagavatīṁ* but the actual reading is *Bhagavati*[*ṁ*] which should be corrected as *Bhagavatīṁ*.

Now, as regards the meaning of the passage, it is not possible to agree with the suggestion of Dr. Majumdar that what was taken from Dharmapāla was not the *lāñchhana* or the royal emblem but only the image of the goddess Tārā Bhagavatī given in the form of a present which puts him (Dharmapāla) in a different category from the other kings defeated by Govinda III. And this has led him to infer that Govinda III might have been attracted to Buddhism. But the language of the passage in question does not support this suggestion. From the statement made in the immediately following verse (text lines 37-38) '*ittham=ētān=yathā=nyāni chihnāny=ādāya*, etc.', it is absolutely clear that Tārā Bhagavatī was a *chihṇa* or *lāñchhana* of Dharmapāla and that he was defeated by Govinda III like the other kings mentioned in the record.[1] There is nothing to suggest that Dharmapāla was treated in any way different from the other kings. Dr. Majumdar's view is, therefore,untenable.

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[1] It may be noted that Govinda's father Dhruva had also snatched away the royal parasol (*śvētachchhatra*) from the Gauḍa king as stated in the Sanjan plates of Amoghavarsha. This Gauḍa king is supposed to have been Dharmapāla (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XVIII, p. 239).

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SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE MALLASĀRUL COPPERPLATE

By Shyam Chand Mukherjee

The Mallasārul copperplate inscription of the reign of Mahārājādhirāja Gopa(-Candra), dated in the year 3 (*circa* A.D. 528), has engaged the attention of many scholars, and some interesting deductions have been made by them on its basis.[1] But it appears that new observations can still be made and some passages in it re-interpreted, if it is further studied from a different angle. The purpose of this short paper is to offer fresh suggestions about the following topics connected with it:

(*a*) The seal and the invocatory passage.
(*b*) Identification of places mentioned in the inscription.
(*c*) Officials connected with the administration of the 'bhukti' (division), mentioned in the inscription.
(*d*) Terms in it referring to the boundary-posts.

A. *The seal and the invocatory passage*

It is interesting to note that the seal of king Vijayasena, affixed to the Mallasārul copperplate, bears in relief a standing figure of a two-armed male deity (one arm upraised and the other on hip) with an oval-shaped 'cakra' in the background. This male deity has been identified by N. G. Majumdar with Lokanātha and the 'cakra' with the 'Dharmacakra' of the Buddhists.[2] In order to support his contention this scholar has referred to the invocatory passage of this copperplate inscription which runs thus:

L.1. (Jayati Śrī-Lo)kanāthaḥ yaḥ puṁsāṁ sukṛta-karmmaphala-hetuḥ |. Satya-tapo-maya-mūrttir-loka-dvaya-sādhano dharmmaḥ ||—verse 1. Tadanu jitadambha-lobhā jaya-

L.2. (nti cirā)ya (para)hitārthāḥ | Ni(rma) tsarāḥ sucaritaiḥ para-lokajigīṣavaḥ santaḥ ||—verse 2.

According to the said scholar, this invocatory passage refers to the Buddhist trinity—Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha. He is inclined to emend the reading 'Santaḥ' into 'Saṇghaḥ', and Lokanātha, according to him, is Buddha himself. Dr. Sukumar Sen,[3] however, is of opinion that the reference in the invocation is to god Viṣṇu himself, Avalokiteśvara being included due to syncretistic ideas, as a form of Viṣṇu. On the basis of the coincidence between the invocatory passage of the Mallasārul Inscription 'Jayati Śrī-Lokanāthaḥ yaḥ puṁsāṁ sukṛtakarmmaphala-hetuḥ | Satya-tapo-maya-mūrttirllokadvaya-sādhano dharmmaḥ' ||—verse 1;[4] and lines

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[1] *Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrikā*, Vol. XLIV, p. 17ff.; *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXIII, p. 157ff. (ed. Nanigopal Majumdar), and *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I, p. 359ff. (ed. D. C. Sircar).

According to Dr. R. C. Majumdar (*History of Bengal*, Vol. I, p. 54), the year 3 of Gopacandra of the Mallasārul C.P. may be equivalent to the Christian Year 528.

[2] Mr. Ajit Ghose thinks that this is not a 'cakra', but 'rays coming out from the body of Avalokiteśvara'. For his view see *J.I.S.O.A.*, Vol. XIII, p. 49ff.

[3] *Prācina Vāṅglā O Vāṅgālī*—Dr. S. Sen, pp. 32-33. But, this scholar has subsequently changed his former view and has identified the deity in question with Dharma Ṭhākura. But it should be borne in mind that the worship of the deity is of comparatively late origin (i.e. *circa* sixteenth century A.D.)—*Dharma Ṭhākurer Itihāsa*, reprint, pp. 14-15.

[4] *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I, p. 360.

1-2 of Part II of the Besnagar Inscription of Heliodoros 'Trini amuta-padāni (iya) (su)-anuṭhitāni | Neyaṁti (svagaṁ) dama cāga apramāda' ||,[1] he has come to the conclusion that Avalokiteśvara of the Mahāyānists has been transformed into a notable form of god Viṣṇu in Bengal under the name of Lokanātha (early in the sixth century A.D.). In his opinion the adoration of Lokanātha produced in Bengal an idea which was somewhat similar to that of 'Bhakti'. But, it may be pointed out that besides the said Besnagar passage, cited by Dr. Sen, two other passages—one from the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* ('Tapodanamārjjavamahiṁsā satyavacanaṁ'—III. 17.4), and the other from the *Bhagavadgītā* ('Dānam damaśca... tapa ārjjavaṁ || Ahiṁsā satyamakrodhastyāgah śāntirapaiśuṇyam', etc., XVI. 1-2)—are expected to help us much better in elucidating this idea. These passages tally well with the Mallasārul passage (11.2). Some other *Gītā* and *Mahābhārata* verses may be taken into account for this purpose (cf. III. 7 and XVIII. 3 and 5; XI. 7.23. 5, XII. 5.43. 22).[2]

The view of Dr. Sen, as has been referred to above, seems to be plausible enough. In this connection it should be observed:

(i) Lokanātha as one of the 'Vibhavas' of Viṣṇu has been referred to in the *Sātvata Saṁhitā* and the *Ahirbudhnya Saṁhitā*.[3] Inclusion of Lokanātha in the above lists of 'Vibhavas' of Viṣṇu is evidently an attempt at sectarian synthesis, and it is very likely that the deity on the seal of the copperplate represents such an aspect.

(ii) The invocatory passage of the copperplate may well refer to Viṣṇu and it corresponds well with the last verse of the Besnagar Inscription and certain verses from the *Gītā* and the *Mahābhārata*.

(iii) The deity, hence, may very well be identified with Viṣṇu.

The 'Cakra', represented on the seal of the copperplate and identified by Majumdar with the Buddhist 'Dharma Cakra', may stand for the 'Sudarśana Cakra' of Vāsudeva—Viṣṇu, one of the best revered symbols among the early Pāñcarātrins and the Vaiṣṇavas.

It may not be out of place here to refer to a tendency prevailing in the medieval times to incorporate the Buddhist deities into the Brahmanical pantheon,[4] but it should be borne in mind that Avalokiteśvara or Lokanātha of the Mahāyānists has imbibed many traits of Viṣṇu—Vāsudeva, for the idea of Viṣṇu or Vāsudeva is much older than that of the former. So, it may be concluded that the deity represented on the seal may be identified with Avalokiteśvara or Lokanātha, who has imbibed many of the traits of Viṣṇu—Vāsudeva.

For the sake of understanding the idea, underlying the invocatory passage, its English translation—hitherto unattempted—may be given here

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[1] *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I, p. 91.

[2] *Gītā*—P. Tarkabhusan's edition; and *Mahābhārata*—P. Tarkabhusan's edition. Also, *see* Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri's *Early History of the Vaiṣṇava Sect*, pp. 88-89.

[3] *Introduction to the Pañcarātra and the Ahirbudhnya Saṁhitā*, pp. 43–46—Schradar; *Development of Hindu Iconography* (2nd edition), pp. 391-92—Dr. J. N. Banerjea.

[4] Sometimes, Viṣṇuite features were also present in the Buddhist images like Avalokiteśvara, etc. J. N. Banerjea has noticed the existence of a variety of Viṣṇu-Lokeśvara images of syncretistic type, which again combine in them the Vaiṣṇava and the Mahāyāna Buddhist elements (cf. Surohor Viṣṇu from Dinājpur district, Bengal). Mention may be made in this connection of a six-armed image of Viṣṇu-Lokeśvara (wrongly described as Hṛiṣīkeśa by M. Ganguly) found at Sāgardighi, Murshidabad district, Bengal, belonging to *circa* eleventh century A.D. It is a fine specimen of syncretistic type—Banerjea, *op. cit.*, pp. 555-56.

Sanskrit Text :—

L.1. (Jayati Śrī-Lo)kanāthaḥ yaḥ puṁsāṁ sukṛta-karmmaphala-hetuḥ | Satya-tapo-maya-mūrttirloka-dvaya-sādhano dharmmaḥ ||—(verse 1).
Tadanu jita dambha-lobhā jaya-
L.2. (nti cirā)[1] ya (para) hitārthāḥ | Ni(rma) tsarāḥ sucaritaiḥ paraloka-jigīṣavaḥ santaḥ ||—(verse 2)...

English Translation :—

Victory be to Śrī (Lord) Lokanātha, who is the root-cause of the well-executed deeds of the people—the embodiment of truth and meditation, and a go-between of the two worlds (heaven and earth)—so far as the religious performances (dharma=dharmakārya ?) are concerned. Then victory be to the saints (either devout followers of Lord Lokanātha, or saints in the ordinary sense of the term), who have conquered pride and avarice, who are bent on doing good to people (in the sense of ānata), who strive for the well-being of the people (in the sense of ayāna), or who are anxious to do good to the people (in the sense of ākula), who are non-malicious by nature and who aspire to conquer heaven by dint of good deeds.[2] Here, the term 'dharma' does not indicate the Buddhist 'Dharma', but the 'dharma' as understood by the followers of the Brāhmaṇical religions. The expression 'dharma-sādhana' may be equated with 'dharmānuṣṭhāna'. For the use of 'dharma' in the latter sense, please refer to the following expressions occurring in the present inscription:

(*a*) kriyamāna puṇyaskandheṣu in line 11, (*b*) dharma-ṣaḍbhāgo, (*c*) dharma-saṁyukta(m) and (*d*) satata-dharma-kriyā-varddha-mānāyām (in line 3). In order to support my contention, I would like to refer to a passage of the *Viṣṇudharmasūtra* (II. 16-17). It provides that the 'dharma', common to all men, comprises the following: forbearance (kṣamā), truthfulness (satyaṁ), restraint of mind (damaḥ), cleanliness (śaucaṁ), charity (dānaṁ), control of senses (indriyasaṁyamaḥ), non-injury to animals (ahiṁsā), compassion (dayā), straightforwardness (ārjjavaṁ), freedom from avarice (lobhaśuṇyaṁ) and many other religious merits. For a similar idea, reference may be made to verse No. 6 of the 'Kāśīkhaṇḍa' section of the *Skanda Purāṇa* and verse No. 237 of the 'Uttarakhaṇḍa' section of the *Padma Purāṇa*. The Viṣṇudharmottara passage, too, refers to non-injury to animals (ahiṁsā) and truthfulness (satyavacanaṁ).

B. *Identification of places mentioned in the Inscription*

This inscription records purchase of land by Mahārāja Vijayasena and the gift of the same to one Vatsasvāmin of the Ṛgvedic school, to enable him to conduct the five daily sacrifices. The land given to Vatsasvāmin was situated in Vetragarttā of Vakkattaka-vīthi within the jurisdiction of Vardhamāna-bhukti.

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[1] 'Jayanti cirāya'—These two words may as well be read as either (*a*) jayantyānatāya, or (*b*) jayantyākulāya, or (*c*) jayantyayānāya. After a careful scrutiny of this portion of the above C.P. it may be observed that 'nti' portion of the word 'jayanti' has not been properly read and it should be read as 'ntya' (jayantya). Restoration of the 'cira' portion of 'cirāya' is doubtful. So, it is better to read it either as 'ānata', or 'ākula', or 'ayāna'—each of which may suit the context well. Preference should be given to the word 'ānata'.

[2] Alternative Translation :

'Victory be to ... meditation and just like the bridge of dharma, i.e. religious or pious performances, between the two worlds.'

It may be of some interest to say here something about the administrative units prevalent in this period. A 'grāma' (village) was possibly the smallest unit. Sometimes, the name of the villages ended with the term 'agrahāra', e.g., Godhagrāmāgrahāra and Ambilagrāmāgrahāra. Though an 'agrahāra' was considered as more important and better developed than any ordinary 'grāma', the latter could have been raised to the status of an 'agrahāra' for administrative and economic needs.[1] But their number was very insignificant. Sometimes, the term 'vāṭaka' also (probably a variant form of 'pāṭaka', meaning half of a village) was added before 'agrahāra'. Curiously enough, the relevant passage of this grant (ll. 5–7) does not refer to any 'viṣaya', though 'vīthi' and 'bhukti' are mentioned in it. It is interesting to note that the present inscription, though it refers to a 'viṣayapati' in line 4, does not mention 'vīthipati'.

The expression 'puṇyottara-janapadādhyāsitāyā(ṁ) . . . Vardhamāna-bhuktau', occurring in line 3 of the inscription, most probably refers to the fact that the 'Vardhamāna-bhukti' was situated in the holy land of 'Uttara Janapada'. This holy land may stand for 'Uttara-Rāḍha'. In the Jaina *Bhagavatī Sūtra*, Lāḍhā (Rāḍhā) is mentioned as one of the sixteen 'janapadas'. Rāḍha is also mentioned in other Brāhmaṇical texts.

It is very difficult to identify the place-names mentioned in lines 5–8 and 15 (where the boundary of the village being donated is given) of this copperplate inscription.

Scholars like N. G. Majumdar and Sukumar Sen have tried to identify some of them in the pages of *Epigraphica Indica* and *Calcutta Review* respectively.[2] I have no objection in agreeing to the following identifications made by these scholars:

I. (*a*) Godhagrāma=Gohagrāma on the Dāmodar river to the south-east of Mallasārul in the district of Burdwan (identified by Majumdar and accepted by Sen).

(*b*) Vakkattaka=Baktā (according to Majumdar) or Bāktā (spelt differently by Sen), to the east of Gohagrāma.

(*c*) Khaṇḍojoṭikā=Khāṇḍjulī between Mallasārul and Gohagrāma (identified by Majumdar and accepted by Sen).

(*d*) Śālmalī=Mallasārul or simply Sārul (according to Majumdar) while Śimuldāṅgā (according to Sen). But, it seems to me that the latter is right in identifying this place with Śimuldāṅgā (Sanskrit Śālmalī=Bengali Śimul).

(*e*) Ardhakaraka=Ādrā, two miles to the north of Gohagrāma (Majumdar could not identify this place, and it was left to Sen to do so).

I do not subscribe to the following identifications made by the above scholars:

II. (*a*) Āmragarttikā=Āmbahulā to the south of Mallasārul (identified by Majumdar and accepted by Sen). After consulting the Gazetteer (1901) and Census Reports (1931 and 1951) of the district of Burdwan, I think that Āmragarttikā may better be identified with Āmur in Galsi P.S.

(*b*) Kapisthavāṭaka=Kaitārā, near Ādrā (identified by Sen). But in my humble opinion it may as well be identified with Kasbā in Galsi P.S.

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[1] *Some Historical Aspects of Inscriptions of Bengal*—Dr. B. C. Sen, p. 493.

[2] *Epigraphica Indica*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 155–61 (for N. G. Majumdar's article); *Calcutta Review*, 1938 (March), p. 364 (for Sukumar Sen's article).

(c) Madhuvāṭaka=Māhoḍā or Maoḍā (it was Sen who identified this place with Madhuvāṭaka). But this place may better be identified with Mahulārā in Galsi P.S. Place-names in the thana-maps of Burdwan district have led me to do so.

III. There are also other place-names in this inscription, which neither of the two scholars could identify. They are: (a) Vaṭavallaka, (b) Koḍḍavīra, (c) Vettragarttā, (d) Vindhyapura and (e) Nivṛtavāṭaka. An attempt may be made here to identify these place-names. I have not been able to identify the last two place-names, viz. Vindhyapura and Nivṛtavāṭaka. According to me, (a) Vaṭavallaka may be identified with Bāblā in the Galsi P.S. I have gone through the Gazetteer and Census Reports of the district of Burdwan, and am definite about this identification. Next place is (b) Koḍḍavīra. I think that Koḍḍavīra has not been correctly read. The correct reading will be something like Koṁḍḍavīra. Koṁḍḍavīra may be identified with Koṇḍaipur in the Galsi P.S. Next comes (c) Vettragarttā. I think that it can be identified with Betur near Pātrasāyar in the eastern fringe of the district of Bankura and situated near the river Dāmodar, just opposite Gohagrāma. In ancient times, Betur was probably included in the district of Burdwan, and the river Dāmodar had probably a different course at that time.

C. *Officials connected with the administration of the 'bhukti' (division), mentioned in the inscription*

From a study of line 3 of the inscription, it is clear that the officials connected with the administration of 'Vardhamāna-bhukti' were present on the spot at the time of the issue of the grant. The word 'pūjyānvarttamānopasthitata' may be a scribal error for 'pūjyān-Vardhamānopasthitān'. The words, 'varttamāna' and 'upasthita', convey almost the same meaning; and it was not the intention of the composer of this grant to use two words conveying the same sense. If this suggestion is accepted, then it may be observed that the city of Vardhamāna was the headquarters of the 'Vardhamāna-bhukti'; and the officials connected with the administration of this 'bhukti' were present at the city of Vardhamāna when the grant was issued. Names of these officials as well as their true designation are given below[1]:

(a) Kārttākṛitika—It is very difficult to say what is really meant by the use of this particular term. As regards its true implication scholars are not of uniform opinion. Thus, while Dr. B. C. Sen thinks that it refers to 'an officer in charge of manufactures', Dr. D. C. Sircar is of opinion that it indicates 'a superintendent or a manager of state affairs'. But these two scholars are not very sure about their explanations. In page 502, footnote 9, of his *Select Inscriptions* the latter has suggested (chiefly dwelling upon the suggestion made by K. G. Goswami Śāstrī) that the term might indicate 'a judge of an appellate court'. But, it is better to accept his first suggestion. On a similar occasion, a similar view was given by Hopkins (cf. 'kṛtakṛtyeṣu cārthānāṁ viniyojakaḥ', *J.A.O.S.*, Vol. 13, pp. 128-29). This term may, however, refer to a 'superintendent, expert in the handling of secretariat works'.[2] It may be pointed out here that the Pāla inscriptions are quite familiar with the term 'Mahākārttākritika'.

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[1] *Dacca History of Bengal*, Vol. I (ed. R. C. Majumdar), pp. 265, 269-70, 277-78; *Some Historical Aspects, etc.*, B. C. Sen, p. 503; *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 359-60, and also *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, p. 183.

[2] Kārttākṛitika—By disjoining the 'sandhi', we get two forms—kārtta and ākritika. By adding the suffix 'aṇ' after 'kṛta' the word 'kārtta' is formed. For the duplication of 'ta', please *see* Pāṇini's *Sandhiprakaraṇa*. 'Ā' of 'ākritika' has been

(b) Kumārāmātya—He seems to be an executive officer of the same status as the 'Kumāra' (king's son or younger brother). According to Dr. R. C. Majumdar, the term 'Kumārāmātya' was the general name of 'a class of officials, who were under the king or the crown-prince'. It is difficult to accept the usual interpretation of this term as 'prince's minister'.[1] The term probably refers to 'one who had hereditary right to a high office of state'. In the Karamdāṇḍā Stone Liṅga inscription of the Gupta year 117, i.e. A.D. 436, it is said that Śikharasvāmin and his son Pṛithivīṣena worked as 'Mantrī' and 'Kumārāmātya' respectively under the Gupta emperors, Candragupta II and Kumāragupta I.[2] The latter, again, held the portfolio of the 'Mahābalādhikṛta' (Field-Marshal) at a later period. In the Dāmodarpur copperplates of the time of Kumāragupta I (Gupta years 124 and 128) one Vetravarman is mentioned as holding the portfolios of 'Tanniyuktaka' and 'Kumārāmātya' at the same time.[3] The Faridpur copperplate of the time of Gopa Candra (regnal year 18) shows that Nāgadeva, who held only two portfolios in the time of Dharmāditya (cf. Faridpur copperplate of Dharmāditya), took charge of as many as four portfolios (cf. lines 4 and 5).[4]

(c) Cauroddharaṇika—The meaning of the word is 'one who catches a thief'. It probably indicates a 'police inspector' or possibly a 'high police official'. It may be pointed out in this connection that the tax payable by the villagers for protection against thieves and robbers was also known as 'Cauroddharaṇika'. Dr. U. N. Ghosal identifies it with 'Coradaṇḍa' of earlier inscriptions.[5]

(d) Uparika—It may be the designation of any superior officer, but in some cases it may point to a governor or a viceroy. In the reign of Kumāragupta I the governor was simply called an 'Uparika', but later in the reign of Budhagupta, the title 'Mahārāja' also was added to it (cf. Dāmodarpur copperplate inscription of the time of Budhagupta, Gupta year A.D. 163=483; also Dāmodarpur copperplate of Gupta year A.D. 224 ?=544).[6] Sometimes, adjective 'vṛihat' was also prefixed to it (cf. the Pāla and Sena inscriptions). 'Uparika' may have been the title of a 'provincial viceroy' (cf. Puṇḍravardhana-bhuktāvupa(rika Ci) rātadatta(-sya) (Dāmodarpur copperplate inscription of Kumāragupta I, Gupta year 128; and 'Uparika-Kumārāmātya' in line 27 of the Bihar stone pillar inscription of Skandagupta).[7] Sometimes, 'Uparika' was also used in order to indicate a 'chief official', viz. 'Pañcādhikaraṇopārika', 'Pāṭyuparika', 'Purupāloparika'.

(e) Audraṅgika—This term may indicate either 'a collector of the tax, called "Udraṅga"', or 'an enjoyer of the right of that tax'. According to Dr. U. N. Ghosal, 'a tax imposed upon the permanent tenants' is also known as 'Udraṅga'.[8] It may be mentioned in this connection that 'Draṅga' is used in the *Rājatarañginī*[9] in the sense of 'an interior post for the collection

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used here in the sense of 'āsamantāt' (i.e. entirely). 'Kṛta' means 'what is done' 'Kṛitika' means 'an expert'. So, the meaning of the entire expression will be—a man who has done the entire work efficiently. The form 'kārtta' may also refer to a surgeon or an engraver—'kṛtta' meaning either to cut or to bore.

[1] *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, p. 183.

[2] *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I, pp. 282-83.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 283–87.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 354 and 357.

[5] *Hindu Revenue System*—Dr. U. N. Ghosal, p. 243, f.n. 2.

[6] *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I, pp. 324 and 338.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 319.

[8] U. N. Ghosal, *op. cit.*, p. 210.

[9] *Rājatarañginī*—VIII, 2010 (Stein's edn.).

of taxes'. In the Khoh copperplate of Śarvanātha, Gupta year 193 (=A.D. 513), the term 'Udraṅga' is mentioned.[1] It may be the name of a 'tax to be collected from the permanent tenants'. 'Draṅga' of *Rājataraṅginī* may be equated with this 'Udraṅga'. The term 'Dāṅgika' (Drāṅgika?), used in the Bhāmodra-Mohota copperplate of Droṇasiṁha of Gupta-Valabhī year 183 (=A.D. 502),[2] may be the designation of 'a class of officials connected with the collection of taxes'. It may be mentioned in this connection that 'Udraṅga' may also mean heaven; in that case an 'Audraṅgika' may mean an 'officer in charge of heavenly (religious?) affairs'. According to Dr. B. C. Sen, 'Audraṅgika' was the designation of the 'chief officer of a town'.[3]

(*f*) Agrahārika—The term 'Agrahāra' means a land or a village given to a Brāhmaṇa for his subsistence or settlement therein, or for some religious purpose. It may be dedicated to a god (cf. devāgrahāra or devabhoga). So, an 'Agrahārika' is one who 'superintends the "Agrahāras"'.[4]

(*g*) Aurṇasthānika—This term is generally used in order to indicate 'an officer superintending the woollen-marts or woollen-factories' (cf. Ûrṇasthānas).[5] The word 'Ûrṇa' means wool, but it may be used in the sense of textile goods also. 'An officer in charge of textile goods or possibly textile-markets' is perhaps indicated by this term.

(*h*) Bhogapatika (possibly same as Bhogika or Bhogapati)—Kielhorn takes 'Bhoga' of other inscriptions as equivalent to 'Bhukti'. Taken in this sense, it will mean the ruler of a 'Bhukti', i.e. a 'Bhuktipati'. In the *Hitopadeśa* also, the term has been used in order to indicate 'a governor of a town or a province'. This word has not been properly used in the sense of 'an officer connected with the stable'. Sometimes, the 'collector of tax', referred to as 'Bhoga', or the tax collected from a 'Bhoga' or a 'Bhukti' was also known as 'Bhogapati'. It may be observed here that fruits, etc., periodically supplied to the king by his subjects, constituted the term 'Bhoga'. Terms like 'Mahābhogika' or 'Mahābhogapati' are also well known to students of epigraphy.

(*i*) Viṣayapati—It was the designation of 'district officer', or 'possibly a ruler of a district'.

(*j*) Tadāyuktaka (possibly same as Āyuktaka, or Tanniyuktaka or Tadāniyuktaka or Viniyuktaka of other inscriptions)—The designation of a class of officials was 'Āyuktaka'. It most probably indicated a magistrate or a treasury officer, appointed by a 'Viṣayapati'. Sometimes, the word was used in the sense of a 'governor'.

(*k*) Hiraṇyasāmudāyika—It was probably the designation of 'the chancellor of the exchequer' and not merely 'a collector of revenue or a collector of taxes, paid in cash'. It may be pointed out here that 'the name of the tax levied upon certain special kind of crops and collected in cash' was also known as 'Hiraṇya'. According to Dr. B. C. Sen, the term is used in order to indicate 'an officer in charge of all taxes, both in money and in kind'.[6]

(*l*) Pattalaka—The term was possibly used in order to denote the ruler of a territorial unit, known as 'pattalā(pāḍā)'.

(*m*) Āvasathika—Taken singly this term would possibly indicate 'a superintendent of the royal palaces' (for 'āvasatha' indicates a dwelling-place) and other government buildings. This term was not certainly used in order to indicate a supervisor of temples and rest-houses including the 'dharmaśālās' ('āvasatha' meaning also a 'dharmaśālā'), for which the term 'Devadroṇī' was used. According to Dr. B. C. Sen, it indicates an officer in charge of dwellings for pupils and ascetics.[1]

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[1] *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I, p. 371.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 404.
[3] B. C. Sen, *op. cit.*, p. 498.
[4] U. N. Ghosal, *op. cit.*, p. 289.
[5] B. C. Sen, *op. cit.*, p. 498.
[6] B. C. Sen, *op. cit.*, p. 498.

(*n*) Devadroṇī-Sambaddha—The term was generally used in order to denote the designation of a class of officers 'superintending the procession of idols of the temples', but it might have been used to denote that 'officer who was in charge of the temples and temple-properties' (cf. Verāval inscription, line 12; and Karamdāṇḍā stone inscription of the time of Kumāragupta I, line 1d). Some have taken 'Devadroṇī' in the sense of temples and sacred tanks belonging to these temples.

D. *Terms in it referring to the boundary-posts*

This inscription refers to some boundary-posts in lines 15-16:

'Kīlakāścātra kama(lā)kṣa-mālāṅkitā(ḥ) caturṣu dikṣu nyastā bhavanti'(|). This line shows that the boundary of the plot of land given to Vatsasvāmin was duly marked out by four posts—a system that is followed even in modern times. These posts are said to have borne the impress of a string of lotus-seeds. It is no doubt unique of its kind. The boundary-posts (kīlakas) are expressly mentioned only in this inscription. No earlier use of this word can be found in other inscriptions. Sometimes, pillars were also decorated with a rosary of beads or a string of lotus-seeds. It is known to students of Hindu Iconography that the beads, worn by the deities, were generally of two varieties—(*a*) rudrākṣa and (*b*) kamalākṣa. A rosary of beads or a 'rudrākṣa-mālā' is generally found in the hands of Brahmā, Śiva and Sarasvatī, but it may appear in the hands of other deities also.[2] Similarly, a string of lotus-seeds may be found in the hands of goddess Lakṣmī.

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[1] B. C. Sen, *op. cit.*, p. 498.

[2] *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. I, Pt. I, Description of terms, T. A. G. Rao; J. N. Banerjea, *op. cit.*, pp. 303-304.

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SOME CHANGES IN ORAON MARRIAGE CUSTOMS

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Introduction

During the December of 1956 the authors of this article camped at Mandar, a village about twelve miles away from Rañchi, and worked in a number of the neighbouring Oraon villages. Five cases of Oraon marriages were actually attended either in part or in full, and data on over a hundred cases (of which thirty have taken place within the last three years) were collected on certain aspects of marriage with the help of genealogical, case history and narrative methods.

The three villages with which we are mainly concerned are Katchancho, Hismi and Banjhla. The first is situated about half a mile away from the main road leading from Ranchi to Lohardaga, to the east of it. It is an entirely Oraon village with the exception of a couple of Lohar families. Hismi, which lies to the north-east of Katchancho, and about a mile away from it, has a mixed population of Oraons, of Hindus and of Muslim weavers. Banjhla is about five miles away from the main road in the western direction. One has to ford the Koel river to reach it. This is also an entirely Oraon village.

In the village Mandar there is a Roman Catholic Church and an adjacent first-rate hospital with modern equipment. The local population, including the Oraons, utilize the facilities of the hospital to a good extent. The church had been built about a century back, and the hospital has been in existence for a decade. Before this hospital was built, a small outdoor hospital used to function inside the church compound.

During the past two decades there have been developments in this area in many directions. A bus service plies between Gumla and Ranchi, and the buses always stop at Mandar. Every day nearly a half dozen times the buses go each way. Shops have been opened on the main road. These trade in sweetmeats and in stationery articles, soap, tea, kerosene and such other things which may be classified some under necessities and others as luxury articles for a rural area.

A school and hostel has recently been opened near Mandar. This is run by the local representatives of the Adim Jati Seva Sangh. Here, apart from following the ordinary school curricula, students are encouraged in raising cash crops and vegetables; also they engage in cultural activities like holding dances, etc., in their school hall and participating in the discussions of Brahminical Scriptural works.

In this paper an attempt is made to point out some of the present deviations from the old marriage customs as noted by Col. Dalton[1] and Rai Bahadur S. C. Roy.[2] The effects of Christian Missions, the opening of a regular bus service and the advent of shops along the main road have played their rôles in introducing new culture elements among these simple folk.

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[1] Dalton, E. T., Col. *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal* (1872), pp. 252-53.
[2] Roy, S. C., Rai Bahadur. *Oraon Religion and Customs* (1928), pp. 142–68.

AGE AT MARRIAGE

Nowadays the age at marriage for both boys and girls, in the case of the non-Christian Oraons (known as Sansaris), varies between 8 to 12 years. The age at marriage for the Christian Oraons as shown in the genealogies is about 16 years for girls and 20 years for boys. This higher age seems to be due to the influence of the missionaries who insist on a higher minimum age at marriage. As noted below the traditionally approved age at marriage among Oraons was until a few generations ago adult for both boys and girls. The Mission influence has had the effect of reviving and retaining this age at marriage among the Christians. Our observations on the age at marriage for the Sansari Oraons give figures lower than what Roy has recorded. According to him, the average age at marriage for boys is between 16 and 20 and that for girls is between 13 and 16. Dalton's account is in agreement with what has been noted by Roy. Dalton's statement that 'the marriage of children is not in favour amongst the Oraons. When a young man makes up his mind to marry . . .' clearly shows that a little more than half a century back adult marriage was customary among them.

CHOICE OF MATE

Intra-clan marriage is strictly prohibited, though deviation from this rule was found by us. We refrain from noting the actual percentage of such cases recorded by us because of the fact that whatever information we did get from the informants was very reluctantly given, and there is reason to believe that actually more such marriages have taken place in recent years. Since these people believe intra-clan marriage to be incestuous, they have kept back from us the knowledge of a number of cases. Hence any definite statement made here by us would not be a correct representation of facts. The Christian Oraons also have a ban on marriage within the clan, though this rule is also broken at times.

From Dalton's account we find that a fair amount of laxity in sexual behaviour existed among the Dhumkuria (bachelor's dormitory) boys and local girls, but generally the actual partner in life was selected from outside one's own village. Though the parents went through a customary procedure of selection, their choice, it is said, always used to be the girl whom the boy had himself selected. The invariability of selection by the parents of the girl of the son's choice may have been over-emphasized. But on the whole it was so. This is different now. At present since the boys and girls are married in childhood, most of the young boys of any village are married persons and the girls who sleep in some widow's hut ('pél-ẹrpā') are also mostly married girls. So, nowadays the procedure of selection that the parents go through is a very real one. They enquire about eligible girls for their son, and send an 'agua', who is generally a male cousin of the father of the boy—but sometimes a relative on the boy's mother's side, or even a family friend may be chosen for this purpose due to that person's keen sense of judgment and other abilities—to find a suitable match for their son. It is the duty of this man not only to enquire about the girl, and bring about a meeting between both the parties if he thinks the girl is suitable, but also to act as a sort of master of ceremonies throughout the marriage and its preliminaries. The negotiations invariably start just after the Karam Festival in the month of 'Bhado' (August). The 'agua' or the go-between visits the girl's house, talks to them and convinces them as to the suitability of the marriage. He is always treated with 'hānṛiā' (riçe-beer) on such occasions.

BETROTHAL

After this the betrothal takes place. On invitation received through the 'agua', the bride's guardians take a few friends and relatives and go to visit the bridegroom's house to see the actual conditions there at first hand. They are feasted there. They do not any more pretend to go there on the pretext of asking for tobacco and lime, as has been recorded by Roy. After a few days, in some cases, the bridegroom's parents and relatives also pay a return visit to the bride's house. These visits are known as 'ghar-bar'. For sending invitations to the bridegroom's people and such other purposes, generally the bride's people also have a man, who functions like the 'agua' of the bridegroom's side, though he is not actually spoken of as 'agua'.

Then, generally, in the month of Kartick (October-November) the 'goṛ-dhoi' or 'khéd-noṛna' ceremony is held. On this occasion some friends and relatives of the bridegroom's father visit the bride's house. When the guests arrive, their feet are washed by the womenfolk of the bride's house and then they are treated with 'hānṛiā', rice and meat, the meat of fowl or pig being preferred. On this occasion omens seen when on the road by the bridegroom's people are taken into account and if these are good, the match is finalized, including the fixing of the date of marriage.

In a few cases, however, the date of marriage is not fixed at the 'goṛ-dhoi' ceremony. In such cases this is done during 'Sānni-Pāhi', the date for which is fixed at the 'goṛ-dhoi' ceremony. In a few cases this 'Sānni-Pāhi' never takes place. In Roy's account we find that the 'Sānni-Pāhi' is held at the bridegroom's house. But our data show that this ceremony takes place at the bride's house as well. There is no fixed rule of priority as to whether the 'Sānni-Pāhi' should take place first at the bride's or the bridegroom's house. In any case, this is when the fixing of the date of marriage takes place. On these occasions at both the houses feasting takes place. As usual, when the guests arrive, their feet are washed with 'karanj' oil and water over a brass-platter and the water is thrown over the roof. Roy records the fixing of the date of marriage at the 'Sānni-Pāhi' as 'Lāgān-Bāndhi'.

In one case only yet another ceremony took place. This is known as 'Mānjhli-Pāhi'. On this occasion, first the bridegroom's people visited the girl's house and then the bride's people came over to the boy's house, where the marriage-day was finalized, instead of during 'Sānni-Pāhi'.

During the 'Sānni-Pāhi' and 'Mānjhli-Pāhi', the bridegroom is presented with a rupee or so by the bride's father. The date of marriage always falls on either of the following days: the third, fifth, seventh, ninth, eleventh and the thirteenth day after the full moon.

'KOHĀ-PĀHI', AN IMPORTANT PRE-NUPTIAL CEREMONY

Two or three days before the marriage, the 'Kohā-Pāhi' takes place. This ceremony takes place twice—once in the bridegroom's house and once in the bride's house. It is decided beforehand in whose house and on what date it is to take place first. This is quite an elaborate ceremony, though not so elaborate nowadays as is found from the records of Roy. Very early in the morning the hosts get up and start cleaning the house, sweeping the courtyard and plastering the walls and floor with cow-dung paste. A canopy or 'māṛwā' is erected with branches of trees and leaves. Early in the morning the 'agua' comes there and a pig is killed in his presence and cooked. The pig is killed by beating it with a wooden hammer called 'mogrā'. He starts drinking right from that time. By and by the other guests (from the other party), sometimes numbering up to fifteen or twenty, arrive. Their feet are washed with 'karanj' oil and water. Some friends and relatives of the host are also invited. But their feet are not washed. They all sit down under the 'mārwā', drink 'hānriā', chew tobacco mixed with lime, and gossip. In the afternoon the 'Pāhān' (priest) of the host-village comes and performs the 'āmmotrā' ceremony. He brings with him a sheaf of jack-fruit leaves rolled into tubes. These he distributes among host and guests alike. Then he is given a brass-pot full of 'hānriā' taken from a new pot. The 'Pāhān' now leads a procession of persons carrying each a jack-fruit leaf tube out into the open, where he spreads three leaves on the ground, and facing east sprinkles some 'hānriā' over the leaves and prays. This done, he does obeisance to the leaves and tears them up. He is helped by the 'Pānbhārā' or the priest's servant. He is then followed by all those who had come out with him carrying leaf tubes. Then a round of 'hānriā' is served to all from the pot carried by 'Pāhān'. This is the 'nég-borey' or the sacred rice-beer, and this must be prepared in new pots decorated with vermilion paste. Now all of them troop back to the house and are once more regaled with 'nég-borey'. For serving 'hānriā', sacred or not, each man is provided with a leaf cup. He puts it to his lips while he squats and another man pours the beer from a brass-pot into the leaf cup. Their capacity for consuming 'hānriā' is astonishing. After a time the guests are given some 'karanj' oil which they rub on their heads and limbs and inhale some of it, too. This is called 'tél-mākhi'. During this ceremony the village 'gorait' beats the drum. He has to do it off and on, and especially on the night of the marriage. He is paid about ten rupees for his services.

Next, the 'Bāñhi' ceremony takes place. A mat ('nég-pāṭi') is spread on the floor under the 'mārwā' after turning the mat upside down three times, and the 'agua' and one of the men of the bride's party (seldom the actual guardian of the bride) sit on it facing each other. Two brass-pots filled with 'hānriā' are placed touching each other in front of them and a copper pice is balanced on the rims of the pot where they touch each other. Then fresh 'hānriā' is poured into the vessels till these overflow and the pice drops into one of the pots. The two persons then exchange their pots and drink, get up and embrace each other. While they embrace, they do a funny sort of dance in which they try to step on each other's feet. After this they sit down and the two parties start bantering each other. Throughout the ceremony a boy stands waiting near them with a 'billi', i.e. a lamp made with a wick tied around a sickle dipped in a brass-platter containing 'karanj' oil. The wick is set alight and fed with the 'karanj' oil. When they sit down, the boy withdraws into the house with his 'billi' and a woman gives marigold flowers to the guests, who stick these in their fillets and ears. This flower-sticking ceremony used to be done previously very elaborately ('punp-méjhnā') and on this occasion the bride-price used to be settled. After nightfall the hosts depart to their village in a dead drunk condition.

Next day, the hosts of the previous day become the guests at the house of the guests of the day before, and the whole ceremony is repeated. During the 'Kohā-Pāhi' at the bridegroom's place, he is made to salute by bowing to all his elders and the bride's people give him some presents. These presents are in the form of eight annas, twelve annas or such small amounts of money. Also, if the 'ḍāli' or bride-price has not already been paid, it is paid here and the clothes promised by the bride's parents are also handed over to the bridegroom's parents.

PREPARATIONS FOR THE WEDDING AT THE BRIDE'S HOUSE

On the marriage day the people at the bride's house take their meal before sunrise. This meal is cooked the night before. They all have to fast till the ceremony is over. Only then are they eligible to eat the meat cooked for the occasion in the evening. The women spend the morning in sweeping and cleaning the house. Men fetch water and chop wood and do other rough work. The 'agua' either stays there from the night before or comes from the bridegroom's house very early in the day. Men and women drink 'hānṛiā' and chew tobacco and lime every now and then. The 'agua' chats with the menfolk and makes jokes from time to time to liven up the day. At about ten in the morning three bachelors of the village come and do what is known as 'dhān bichāno'. They are given a mat to sit on near the 'māṛwā' and a bundle of ripe paddy with stalk is handed over to them. Each of them laboriously fishes out stalks with practically all the paddies intact, and finally makes a big bundle. The three bundles are later tied together and used in making the 'kāṛsā'.

While the straw-bundles are being made, the three 'kālingās' are constructed by some men. A 'kālingā' is a thin bamboo strip, about a foot long, with three small cross-pieces tied with blue, red and white thread; then a marigold is stuck to the ends of the cross-pieces as well as to the top of the central piece. Also a garland ('kāṛsā-ghipoon') of marigold and blue thread is made by a man with the help of a bamboo-split needle.

Just before noon some women leave off drinking 'hānṛiā' and carry a yoke, some straw with the ears of paddy intact and an aluminium pot filled with water to a straw-heap at the corner of the courtyard. Now the paddy-bunch is tied to the yoke and a woman carries the bride to it. Generally, the bride wears only a piece of cloth around her waist like a short skirt. She stands or sits, whichever is more convenient, on the yoke. Now some women rub 'nāgrā-māti' (mud collected from the banks of the River Koel) on her head and 'bālkā' (powdered turmeric) on her body. Then, after placing a big 'sāl' leaf platter in front of her, her head is washed in such a way that the water falls on the platter. Then she is thoroughly scrubbed and bathed. After that she discards her wet cloth and wears a new 'sari', whereupon she is carried back to the house. The yoke is also carried back to the house.

Now the 'kāṛsā' is made. The paddy-bundle made by the bachelors mentioned earlier is washed, its stalk is introduced into a new earthen pot ('kāṛsā-bhāndo') in such a way that the ears of corn with some straw stick out on top. To keep it in an upright position, tender grass ('dubla-ghass') and rice are forced into the pot till the pot is absolutely full. A few sticks ('kāḍrikā') are also forced in. No mustard seeds are put into the pot, as has been recorded by Roy. Now some of the sticking out straw strands are plaited, and the rest are sawn off and an earthen lamp ('tātthi') is balanced on it. This is filled with pulse ('māsi'), salt ('bék') and mustard oil and is provided with four wicks made of rags ('sértā'). Now a rope is tied along the rim of the pot and the three 'kālingās' are stuck to it. Next, the garland is wound over the rope and the pot is balanced on a 'bindo' (a plaited straw ring for balancing round-bottom pots). Just before introducing the straw-bundle into the pot, marks with vermilion paste (with oil) are made both outside and inside the pot and a lump of turmeric ('tātur') is placed at the bottom of the pot.

Meanwhile, the three boys, who had made the paddy bundle, make a 'jurub'. This is a straw-snake. Sometimes, to give it a good shape, leaves and mud are also used. Round about 3 p.m. the village 'Pāhān' or

'Māhāto' (secular headman) or a male member of the 'Pāhān Khunt' leads the bride's party outside the house to perform the 'āmmotrā' ceremony. This has been described before. After that some sweets are brought by a woman and are distributed. These are known as 'bénjā lāḍḍu'. These had been prepared the night before. A 'lāḍḍu' is made of rice powder and ghee.

While all these things are being done, three brand new pots are brought near the 'māṛwā' by a woman. The mouth of one of the pots is slightly broken. The first two pots are called 'jhāṛā', while the *last one* (damaged one) is known as 'sāngé'. These are first cleaned and decorated with vermilion by a woman. About the damaged pot, they said that just as the bride and the bridegroom would have at least one companion, so would the 'jhāṛā' have at least one 'sāngé'. These are filled with water, and this water is used for 'bathing' the newly married couple at the end of the ceremony. Also, when the bridegroom goes back after the marriage is over, these three pots are filled with 'hānṛiā' for him to take home.

At about four o'clock in the afternoon a villager brings the news that the bridegroom's party has arrived at the village boundary, and the bride's people at once start making preparations for receiving them. If there are several marriages taking place in a village on the same day, which is mostly the case, the bridegroom's parties are led into the village one after the other, according to the seniority of the bride's family in the village. This has to be done as the bachelors have to go with drums, bugles and weapons, and as they move in a body, they can attend only one party at a time.

PREPARATIONS AT THE BRIDEGROOM'S HOUSE AND THE MARRIAGE-PROCESSION

Now let us see how the bridegroom's people have been spending the day. They also prepare their 'kāṛsā' and 'jurub' and the bridegroom is also thoroughly scrubbed and bathed in a manner similar to what we have seen in the case of the bride. At about midday the 'Pāhān' performs the sacrifice of a fowl to the ancestral souls in front of the 'kāṛsā' and the 'jurub', which are kept in the courtyard, and sprinkles rice on these from a basket and does obeisance to these. Then two married women come and make obeisance to the 'kāṛsā' and the 'jurub' after sprinkling rice on them as the 'Pāhān' had done. Then they touch the feet of the elders who are present there, and picking one the 'kāṛsā' and the other the 'jurub' upon the head, start dancing ('Bénjā Nālnā'). Soon other women join them and some village bachelors come and start playing on the drums and bugles. Sometimes men also join the dance with swords and sticks. During the dance, the bridegroom stays inside the hut. When the dance is over, the bridegroom comes out of the house garbed in a 'kāṛiā' (loin cloth), shirt and 'kichri' (wrapper). He has a red fillet tied around his head and carries a sickle. The reason behind carrying the sickle has been quite aptly tackled by Roy.[3] After the bridegroom comes out, the procession starts, led by a married woman who carries a 'dāni' on her head. A 'dāni' is a basket in which some powdered rice ('tikhin-gunḍa'), turmeric, 'karanj' oil and vermilion in leaf cups are kept. A boy accompanies her carrying a lighted 'billi'. Sometimes they also carry several pots of 'hānṛiā', some of which are gifts for the bride's folk. These are carried by men in 'éptās' (carrying rods). It is also essential for men to carry sticks, swords, etc., for they all must participate in the mock fight with the bride's party. If there are several marriage parties ('bārāt') starting on the same day, they start one after the other according to the seniority of the bridegroom's family.

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[3] Roy, S. C., Rai Bahadur. *Oraon Religion and Customs* (1928), pp. 142–68.

On reaching the bride's village boundary, they take rest under a tree, have a go at the 'hānṛiā'-pots and then commence music. This attracts the attention of the villagers, who are already on the look out for their arrival, and news of their arrival is despatched to the bride's place.

Reception of the 'Bārāt'

As soon as the bride's people get the news, they start getting ready for the reception of the 'bārāt'. The married women bedeck their foreheads and the parting of hair with vermilion paste. Someone goes and fetches the 'gorait' (the village drummer) and the inmates of the 'jonk-éṛpā' (bachelor's dormitory). When these arrive, they are given 'khér' (a type of pea-seed) to eat and 'hānṛiā' to drink. Now two married women rub their hands in rice, salute all the male elders and pick up the 'kāṛsā' and the 'jurub', and go inside the hut where the bride is waiting for their arrival. Here the carriers of the 'kāṛsā' and the 'jurub' go around the bride thrice, who then, in her turn, does obeisance to these. Then they come out (not the bride) and at once the music starts. Big drums or 'dhol', kettle drums or 'nāgérā' and bugles or 'mbhér' are played. The buglers stand a bit apart, so that their very long bugles do not come in the way of the dancers, while the drummers take up their position at the centre of the courtyard. Then the two women carrying the 'kāṛsā' and the 'jurub' commence dancing. Soon they are joined by other women. Then again the women go inside the hut. When they come out, the earthen lamp placed on the 'kāṛsā' is lighted; also a boy brings out a lighted 'billi'. A third woman carries a 'kurra'. This is a brass-pot ('loṭa') filled with water. She holds a leafy mango branch in her other hand; she keeps dipping the branch in water and flipping a little water here and there. She has to sprinkle a little of this water on the person of the bridegroom as soon as the party meets the 'bārāt'. Many men also join in now. All the bachelors carry a straw-bundle in their left hand, which is known as a 'pusu', and a sword or a stick in the right hand. Thus equipped the party proceeds toward the boundary where the 'bārāt' awaits their arrival. As soon as the two parties meet, a mock-fight breaks out, which gradually blends into a wild dance performed mostly by men. Women of both the parties generally stand together and watch them. Then suddenly one of the men of the bride's party picks up the bridegroom on his shoulders and runs homewards. A few of the party follow them, including the 'kāṛsā' and 'billi' carriers. The rest stay at the boundary and keep on dancing.

The Marriage Ceremony

On reaching the house the bridegroom is taken into the hut and the doors are shut and the next ceremony is very jealously kept from the view of outsiders. Women are most particular in this matter and they only allow the very nearest male relations of the bride to watch it. The bridegroom's feet are washed by a woman of the bride's side; then a 'metate' is placed on the floor and is sprinkled with turmeric water. A yoke is placed behind it in the north-south direction. The bride and the bridegroom are then made to circle the 'metate' and the yoke three times and stand on the 'metate' facing east. The bride stands to the left of the bridegroom.

Then the bride gets down and stands in front of the 'metate' with the bridegroom standing behind her and she slides her left foot backwards and puts her heel on the left toes of the bridegroom, who holds her heel by circling his big toe and first toe around her heel. This is known as 'khéddé tirṭān', and is the final binding rite, according to our informants.

After this, all the males are ordered out of the room. Now the bridegroom applies vermilion to the forehead of the bride, and the bride also, in her turn, stretches her hand behind her shoulders and daubs the forehead of the bridegroom with vermilion. In some cases a married woman holds the hands of the couple and guides them when applying vermilion to each other's forehead. This is known as 'isung sindri'. Now they sit side by side, with the bride sitting to left of the bridegroom, and the women sprinkle a little water on them from the 'jhāṛā'. This seems to be an apology for a bath. After this the women sing all kinds of marriage songs sitting around them. These songs are supposed to be full of instructions to the inexperienced couple. Then about an hour or so before midnight the couple are led out under the canopy and are given a mat to sit on. Here they salute all the elders, most of whom were so long off and on drinking and dancing or sitting beside fire to ward off the bitterly cold December wind. These elders, after being saluted, apply vermilion to the foreheads of the couple. This ceremony is called 'sābhā sindri'. Then the whole assembly is once more regaled with 'hānṛiā'. At about midnight the meal is served—first to the bridegroom and the bride, next to the men and lastly to the women. It is generally composed of rice, 'dāhl' (pulse), some vegetables and pork. After washing the meal down with 'hānṛiā', they all retire for the night.

FAREWELL OF THE BRIDE

Early next morning the guests are once more offered food and drink from what is left over from the previous night. Then the bridegroom's party start homewards with the bride. The bride and the bridegroom have their whole body and face practically fully covered by wrappers. The bride carries an arrow in her hand by which she can be distinguished. Otherwise, if two children of about 9 to 11 years are allowed to stand side by side with large wrappers wound all over, it is useless trying to guess who is who. The bridegroom generally carries an iron-shod stick in his hand. The bride's parents and friends accompany them up to the village boundary and then come back. Then the bridegroom's party start their homeward march. One or two women from the bride's house always accompany the bride.

RECEPTION AT BRIDEGROOM'S VILLAGE

On reaching their own village boundary they stop a bit and start playing on the drums and bugles to let the villagers know of their arrival. Then they proceed. Just before entering the village the bride is picked up by a man and sometimes the bridegroom is also picked up by another person. They are thus carried up to the house of the bridegroom. The musicians and most of the party halt at the 'ākhāṛā' (dancing ground) or some other open space to do a spot of dancing. The young men and women of the bridegroom's house of the same generation as the bridegroom close and bar the door of the house and do not allow the couple to be carried in till the bride forks out an anna or two for each of these young in-laws. This ceremony is called 'bali muchnā'.

Now a woman, generally the bridegroom's mother, anoints with 'karanj' oil and washes on a brass platter the feet of the carrier of the bride, of the bride herself and of the women from the bride's house. The water which accumulates in the platter is thrown over the roof. After this the assembly sit down, drink 'hānṛiā', chew a mixture of tobacco and lime and take rest—the men under or around the canopy and the women inside the hut.

After some time, about half an hour or so, six pots—three new and three old—are brought in. Five girls, including the bride, now take up the pots on their heads, and go out in a single file. The sixth pot is carried in the hand by the leading girl, while the bride walks in the centre. They are soon joined by three or four young village women. After a time the bridegroom follows them carrying an 'épṭā' (carrying rod). He is accompanied by a couple of brothers, or male cousins or even friends.

The two parties assemble near a village spring or well by the paddy fields. The two parties keep a bit apart.

Now the bride takes some vermilion and turmeric from a leaf she has brought along, makes a paste with water and marks at three places on the stones of the mouth of spring or well, facing east. Then the girls clean their teeth with 'kāḍrikā' (twigs) which they take along, and wash their mouths. One of the boys now comes and helps the girls to wash and fill the pots with water from the spring. They leave two pots there, and picking up the rest on their heads, start back in a single file. The two pots left behind are for the bridegroom to wash, to fill up with water and to bring back to his house.

At a short distance they are followed by the bridegroom carrying the two pots mentioned above. He carries them in his 'épṭā' after washing and filling with water which he draws from the spring or well with the help of his companions.

Near about noon the bride and the bridegroom sit facing each other and take food (bhāth-khāi). Generally she is presented with a few rupees by the bridegroom's father for eating food at his house. In Roy's account we find that the bride used to refuse to take food and pretend to become angry unless she was 'pacified' by being presented with a few rupees by the bridegroom's father. Nowadays the bride eats first and then takes money probably because at such young age she has not yet learnt the art of seriously feigning anger in front of strangers and elders. After the meal is over, the assembly simply sit around and chat and drink till sun down, when after a bit of singing and dancing, the bride returns to her father's house.

After about two weeks or so the bridegroom, accompanied by a few men, goes to the bride's house where he takes food sitting opposite the bride and is paid a few rupees for doing the favour of eating there. Then he returns home. We find no mention of this payment in either Roy's or Dalton's account.

After this both the bride and the bridegroom keep on visiting each other—the bride's visits being more frequent—till a child is born, whereupon the bride comes to stay permanently with her husband.

The Bride-price and Marriage Negotiations

The bride-price is generally paid almost any time before marriage. It may be paid at the 'Sānni-Pāhi' or 'Kohā-Pāhi', or in between these during some informal visit or other. It generally amounts to about Rs.7 and a few pieces of clothes—'dhuties' and 'sarees'. Barring the bride-price, the two parties generally have to spend nowadays about Rs.25 during 'Sānni-Pāhi', about Rs.75 during 'Kohā-Pāhi', and quite an amount on 'hānṛiā' during the short informal visits during the negotiation period. The actual amount of this cannot be traced. During the marriage feast, about Rs.30 has to be spent by the bride's people and a little less by the bridegroom's father. In all the overall expenses go up to about a hundred and fifty rupees on an average. Of course a wealthy man sometimes spends a lot more. Thus one person in Katchancho had spent Rs.150 during 'Kohā-Pāhi' alone.

It is a noteworthy point that during the negotiation and the ceremonies the actual guardians of the bride and the bridegroom have little or no say in the matters of fixing the date, or bride-price or other expenses. The negotiations are mainly done by the village elders led by the 'Pāhāns' and the 'agua'. The bride and the bridegroom are the least concerned parties. Till they are actually needed to perform this or that, they can be seen scaling walls or running and playing with friends or at the best sitting sulkily under protest after being admonished by an elder. They are just too young to feel either romantic or be afraid about the whole thing.

COMPARISON WITH EARLIER ACCOUNTS

In Dalton's account we find that the bride-price is sometimes as low as Rs.4 only. But nowadays it is much higher when we take into account not only the cash, but also gift of clothes made along with the money. Roy has not mentioned the amount of cash anywhere.

Our observations show some departure from Roy's account generally in connection with the elaborateness of the ceremonies, apart from the question of age at marriage which has been mentioned earlier. Omens are not seriously considered these days. This may have happened due to Christian influence in the locality. For, once a marriage is arranged between two Christians, no amount of ill omens can dissolve it. Also, this phenomenon can be attributed to the general disintegration in the field of religion due to the two pronged attack by their civilized neighbours, namely by the Christian and the Hindu missionaries.

During all the functions, as described by Roy, it can be noted that practically at every step the guests or the host had to pay presents (one or two annas) to the women folk whose duties are to wash the feet, serve the 'hānṛiā', and so on. Nowadays 'hānṛiā' is always served to men by men and no money is paid to them. Also in other instances, no presentations are made. The 'Sānni-Pāhi' ceremony is occasionally totally dropped, and 'lāgān-bāndhi' is mostly done during the 'Sānni-Pāhi', when 'Sānni-Pāhi' is at all performed. The use of sword to ward off evil during the functions is very seldom found these days. The 'goṛ-lāgi' or touching the feet of elders by the bridegroom is done only once, and that is at the end of the 'Kohā-Pāhi'. The other ceremonies like 'Punp-mejhnā' and 'Bāhi-Joṛnā' have lost all their elaborateness and 'Athkha Kadrika' was neither seen nor heard of from informants in any of the several cases studied by us.

From Col. Dalton's account it is seen that both the bride and the bridegroom take part in the dancing, riding on the hips of some one, at the border of the bride's village after the arrival of the 'bārāt'. But these days the bride, after she has taken her bath on the marriage day, never comes out of the room till 'Khiddé tirṭān' is over, while the bridegroom, almost immediately the dancing commences, is carried off to the bride's house. After the heel-pressing ceremony, the couple are not bathed. That is probably because the ceremony takes place at night, and the people do not have the heart to pour a pitcher full of water on children on a biting cold winter night. The mercury drops to about 4·5°C. during the nights in

December and January in this part of Chota Nagpur. In Dalton's and Roy's time the bridegroom's party used to start early in the morning and probably the bathing used to take place in the afternoon (unfortunately, the approximate time of arrival of the 'bārāt' has not been noted by either of them). But nowadays the 'bārāt' seldom starts before noon. In Dalton's account we find the mention of bathing the couple and the heel-pressing ceremony taking place under the canopy. But the whole ceremony is done now strictly away from public gaze inside the hut.

The ceremony known as 'gunḍāri dhuknā' was not come across by us. It seems from Roy's account that the bride used to be taken to her husband's house the same evening (of marriage). But it is never done so at present. The bridegroom's party always halts for the night there. After the party has returned to the bridegroom's house, the couple normally walk in; no baskets are spread for them to step on, and, what is most important, no 'dandakatta' ceremony is held there. The bride and the bridegroom go to fetch water after just a bit of rest. This point is very important from the point that Roy claims 'dandakatta' ceremony as one of the Oraon's original religious traits, i.e. it dates back to pre-Mundari influence era. This change only emphasizes our original hypothesis that the effects of Hindu and Christian missionary activities in this region have brought about a disintegration and loss of faith in their own magico-religious beliefs, amongst the Oraons.

The 'first bath and meal' is done on the same day, and not on the day after, as Roy records. That is because the bride, being only a child, has to be taken back to her parents before nightfall. The ceremony called 'Érā Kirtānā' has also been dropped these days for the same reason. 'Jhāṛā-gundā' are given with the bride even now, but our informants said that this is done because otherwise the bride's folks would think that the bridegroom's father is so poor that he cannot even afford to send a little 'hānṛiā'. Its supposed connection with fertility has been forgotten by them.

As we have noted earlier, there seems to be a tendency to reduce the whole procedure and condense the ceremonies as much as is possible, and mainly to do away with those portions where money has to be paid to the bachelors and maidens. As the only plausible explanation, we suggest that this change has come due to the deterioration of the general economic conditions of the Oraons. So far as the reduction of the age at marriage of the boys and girls is concerned, it clearly shows the result of Hindu influence, because the Christian Oraons even now marry their children at a comparatively later age. The use of distilled liquor purchased from local roadside shops seems to be a new addition. Though it is not very much in use yet, still the surreptitious presence of a bottle of distilled liquor is an ominous sign. These are very cheap and their consumption in large quantities may wreck their health in no time.

MARRIAGE AMONG CHRISTIAN ORAONS

A brief description of the marriage between two Christian Oraons does not seem, in our opinion, to be very much out of place here. The negotiations are done practically in the same way. Only the Christians try to avoid drinking 'hānṛiā' during visits, or at least they claim it. But we observed quite a good deal of 'hānṛiā' drinking in the solitary case of one Christian marriage that we had the chance of actually observing. Of course it is a fact, which should be mentioned, that the clothes that these poor people can afford to buy are absolutely insufficient against the cold of the winter nights, and sometimes even of the days, and the only way to keep the body warm is to seek the solace of the pot of 'hānṛiā' when the fire has died down due to lack of fuel. Also, one cannot always sit at the fireside even if he can afford to buy an unlimited quantity of firewood in an area where jungles are quickly becoming scarce.

Though the Christian Oraons claim that the choice of life partner always depends on the actual marrying couple, yet more than one informant said that during 'ghar-bār', the parents of the bride and the bridegroom must intimate to each other their consent to the marriage. Otherwise it would fall through.

They have another ceremony after 'ghar-bār', which is known as 'loṭā-pāni'. The boy visits the girl's place, where he washes his hands and feet by taking a brass-pot full of water from the girl, and then hands it back to the girl, whose acceptance shows that they are both willing to accept each other as life-mates. After this they accompany their parents to the Church where they announce their intention to the priest. (They are all Roman Catholics in this village.) The priest next announces the engagement formally after mass every Sunday for three weeks. This is called 'Phukār'. In all these they show a blending of their old heritage with 'Western' practice in this that the settlement of the marriage is mostly an affair of the boy and the girl themselves who decide it mutually rather than following the orthodox Hindu way of letting the parents arrange it for them.

In the meantime, a fortnight after the first announcement, the 'Sānni-Pāhi' is held, followed by 'Kohā-Pāhi', which is held two days before the marriage. Only 'āmmotrā', which is a magico-religious ceremony of the Oraons, is not performed during 'Kohā-Pāhi'. The bride-price is as usual handed over preferably at the 'Kohā-Pāhi'. The bride-price in vogue among the Christian Oraons is the same as that amongst the Sansari Oraons. During these functions, the Christian Oraons seem to lay greater emphasis on feasting.

The marriage takes place at the Church at Mandar. The priest takes the formal oath of the couple in front of about twenty or thirty friends or relatives. Then silver rings are exchanged and the sacrament is administered. In the evening the wedding party takes place. In the case that we studied, it first took place at the bridegroom's house. The next morning the bridegroom's people went over to the bride's house and were feasted; and on the following morning they all returned with the bride. Expenses incurred in a Christian marriage are practically the same as in the case of the Sansari. What the Christians save by preparing a less amount of 'hānṛiā' is spent over the silver rings and more quantity of meat.

GENERAL CONCLUSION

From the above facts and discussions it can be seen that there have been changes in Oraon marriage customs mainly in three directions. First is the reduction in age at marriage. The introduction of the bus service has given a chance to both the Oraons and the Hindus to mingle more freely. Journeys to Ranchi to sell cash crops and buy metal utensils or cheap clothes are quite common among the Oraons. The traders from Ranchi and other towns also come and attend the weekly markets in the interior villages. Further the bus service has encouraged traders to open permanent roadside shops. These are only a few of the ways of contact between the town people and the Oraon villagers. Such contacts between them have naturally brought about exchange of views and cultural traits, and we may suggest that the orthodox Hindu custom of marrying children off at an early age has been accepted by the Oraons through such contacts. The journeys to Ranchi and trade contacts have made them realize the high position held by local Hindus, who are lawyers, doctors, officers and business men, as compared with them.

Also we find in Roy's records that some of the negotiatory functions were practically one way. For example, the 'Sānni-Pāhi' was held only in the bridegroom's house. But nowadays a reciprocity is seen. We would suggest that this is also probably a borrowed trait from Hindu culture in this that negotiatory rites like 'āshirbād', etc., are always held in both the bridegroom's as well as the bride's house. In support of our suggestion we would put forth data from other neighbouring tribes who have had connection with Oraons in the past, like the Dravidian-speaking Marias and Murias of related culture or of the neighbouring Mundas. In the case of the Mundas, the betrothal ceremony takes place only at the house of the bridegroom. Some of the negotiatory functions are held in both the places, but here again Roy writes, 'In the matter of marriage, as in several other matters, the Mundas appear to have modified some of their ancient customs and practices in imitation of those of their Hindu neighbours of olden times.'[4] Among the Maria Gonds[5] and the Bison-horn Marias of Bastar, throughout the negotiation periods the bridegroom's parents and relatives have to go to the house of the bride and negotiate but not the converse. Among the Murias,[6] during negotiations, the parents of the bridegroom have to visit the bride's people twice or thrice, while the bride's people never visit the bridegroom's people for betrothal or such negotiatory rites.

The influence of Christian Missions, on the other hand, has helped them in preserving some of their older ideas such as allowing a boy and a girl to choose their mates when they are reasonably grown up. Also, some abhorrence towards drinking 'hānṛiā' in excess is slowly growing among them, although the sentiment is at all not yet strong.

We have attributed condensation of marriage rituals to general deterioration of economic condition. In support of that we would present the following data.

The population of Ranchi district as a whole has increased from 813,328 in 1872[7] to 1,861,207 in 1951,[8] and the population of Mandar Revenue Thana and Police station (with an area of 196 sq. miles) has increased from 33,041 in 1921[9] to 68,444 in 1951. The Oraon population alone of Ranchi has increased from 340,123 in 1901 to 440,100 in 1931 (the figures for 1941 and 1951 are not available).

The above data show us how the population of the area has risen gradually from 1872 to 1951. This is not by itself evidence of the fact that due to an increase in population land shortage has occurred and consequently there has been disintegration of the economic system, because reserve lands in the shape of forests might have been gradually taken up for cultivation with the increase in population. But side by side with our data on population increase, we find a huge increase in the number of agricultural labourers (from only 249 in 1911 to 24,022 in 1931 in Ranchi district. The figures for 1941 and 1951 are not available yet). This can only suggest the control of land by a limited number and lack of adequate land for the rest. The report on the 1931 Census supports[10] us in this matter. According to it, though the population had increased in Bihar considerably in 1931 (from 1921) '. . . there has been an appreciable decline in the proportion of working population engaged in Agriculture, Industry and Commerce', i.e. the resources were insufficient to provide for the growing population. Again, the deterioration of the economic condition of agriculturists can be seen from the following quotation: '. . . the petty agriculturist and the agricultural labourer are often hard to separate, and at the present census there would seem to have been a substantial transfer from the former to the latter head.'

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[4] Roy, S. C. *The Mundas and their Country*, pp. 436–40.
[5] Grigson, W. V. *The Maria Gonds of Bastar*, pp. 249–54.
[6] Elwin, V. *The Muria and their Ghotul*, p. 86.
[7] *Census of India* (*Bihar and Orissa*), Vol. V, Table, 1911.
[8] *Census of India* (*Bihar*), Vol. V, Table, 1951.
[9] *Census of India* (*Bihar*), Vol. VII, Table, 1931.

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[10] *Census of India*, 1931, Vol. VII, Report, Part I, pp. 186 and 193.

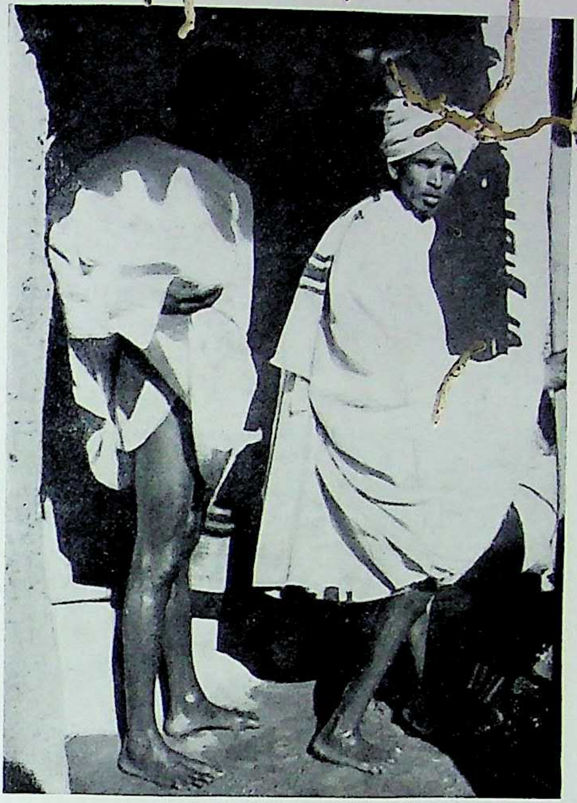

Photo: G. Chattopadhyay.
Feet-washing at bridegroom's place (Katchancho).

Photo: G. Chattopadhyay.
The guests are being treated to 'hāṇṛiā' at the bride's house (Banjhla).

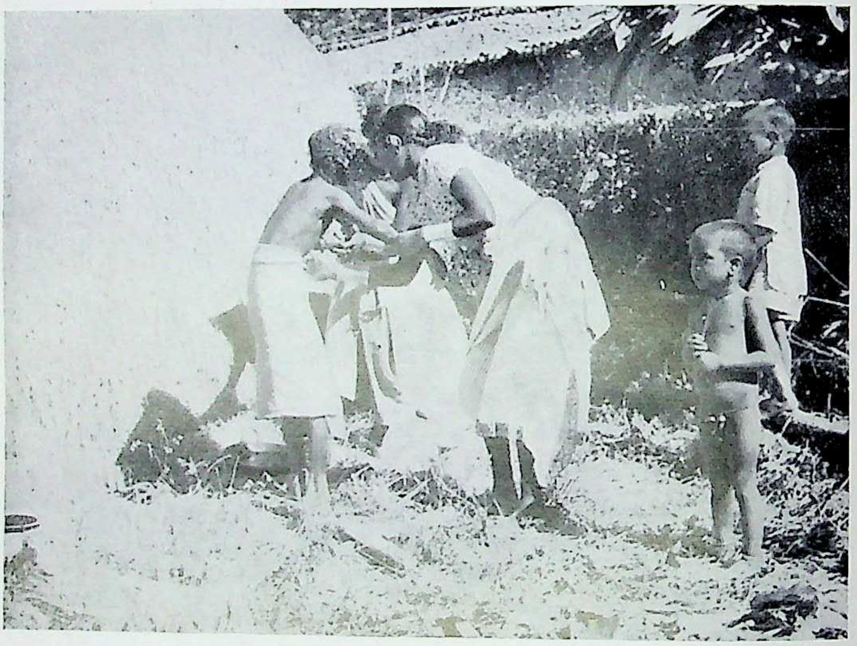

Photo: G. Chattopadhyay.

Bathing the bride (Banjhla).

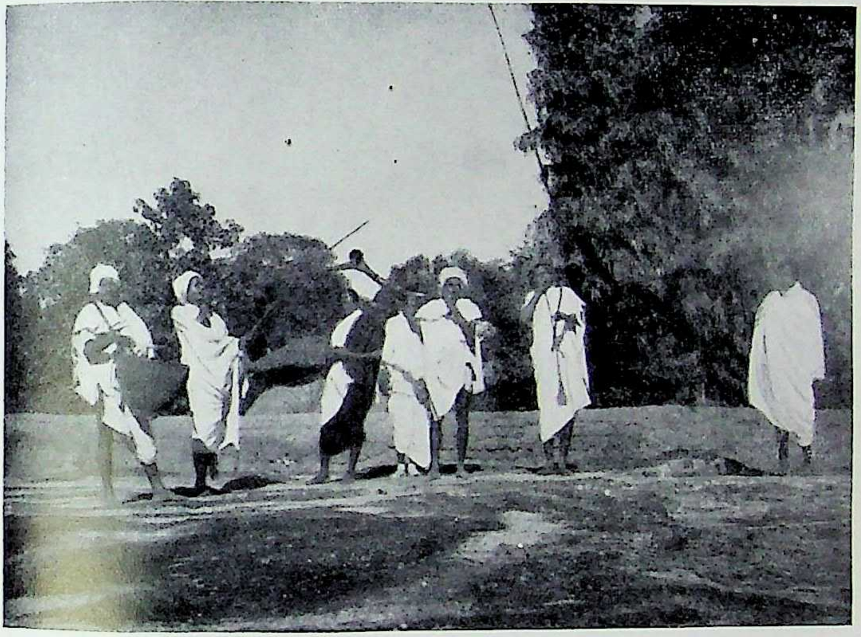

Photo: G. Chattopadhyay.

An advance party of musicians announce the arrival of 'Bārāt' at the village boundary (Katchancho).

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THE SINHALA TREE PRESS

By A. Jayasundara

The tree press is still widely used for extracting oil from various kinds of seeds, roots, bark or herbs of medicinal value, by the Sinhala villagers in various parts of Ceylon. The tree press appears to be more prevalent in the interior regions of the country, where a majority of the population follow agricultural pursuits. The use of the tree press is not limited to a particular caste, as such. However it may be mentioned that the weaving of the 'Rinser' or Paha ('a' as in rat) is done usually by the members of the Rodiya caste, who either sell it at the weekly fair or exchange it for a quantity of paddy or other cereal. The other parts that enter into the composition of the press hardly require any specialized labour and hence are made by the villagers themselves.

The seeds usually taken for extracting oil are many though it may be said that Mee (Sinhala term), Domba (Sinhala term), Khohomba and Margosa are chief types. Medicinal oils are also extracted from herbs, roots, leaves, bark, etc., by using this press.

The tree press is composed of the following parts:

I. A hole is bored in the trunk of a thick living tree, at a height of about three feet from the ground, with a diameter of about $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches to 5 inches and depth of about 6 to 8 inches.

II. Two wooden planks (A and A' in fig.) each having a length of about 5 feet or a little more and thickness of about 2 inches are taken. Their width at one end is about 5 inches and at the other is about 2 inches. Each plank has one of its surfaces, which we may term inner surface, flat, while the other three surfaces are rounded off, so as to give the outer surface a semicircular shape in cross-section.

About 6 inches away from the wider end, in the centre of each plank, a hole is made, having a diameter of about 2 inches.

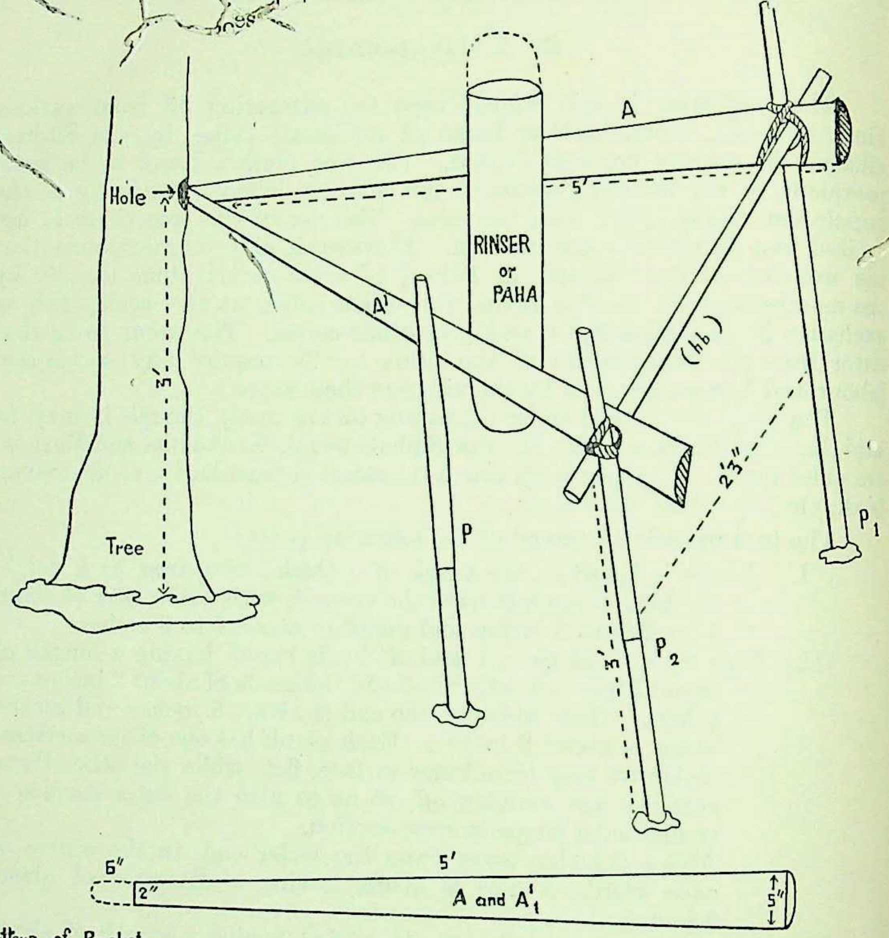
III. A cylindrical wooden pole (*hb* in fig.) having a length of about 2 feet 6 inches and a diameter slightly less than 2 inches is taken.

IV. Three other wooden poles are also required.

V. The 'Rinser' or the 'Paha' is a basketry container woven out of thin strips of cane. Sometimes fibres of barks of certain trees are taken when cane is not available. The pattern is twilling in three.

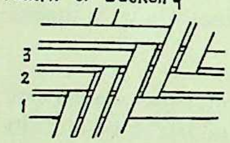
Method of Setting the Press:

The narrow ends of the planks A and A' are inserted into the hole in the trunk of the tree, in such a manner that the flat inner surfaces of both planks are vertical and face each other. Then the cylindrical pole is made to pass through the holes bored at the wider ends of both planks. This pole is kept in horizontal position by tying its ends with coir rope or rope made of the fibre of some jungle creeper to the upper ends of two poles p_1p_2 which are firmly fixed upright in the ground. One of the planks A is kept fixed by tying it to an upright while the other A' is made to slide freely along the horizontal pole (*hb*) so that when moved to the plank A, their inner, flat surfaces come in contact. A third pole (p in fig.) is fixed upright in the ground at about 1½ feet away from p_2, so as to set a further limit to the movement of the plank A'.



Scale 1″ represents 1′ 6⅔″

Pattern of Basketry



Then the 'Rinser' or 'Paha' is filled with crushed and steamed seeds, and placed near about the central portion between the separated planks. At the beginning of the operation, the upper part of the Rinse is pressed but as the process is continued the basket is gradually raised In pressing out oil the plank A' is made to move towards plank A and then withdrawn. The process is repeated by moving the plank A' forward and backward. One man holds the Rinser while another pushes the movable plank, towards fixed plank. (Photo showing press only). The above details have been ascertained at the request of Prof. K. P. Chattopadhyay and the note written in consultation with him.

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AN OIL PRESS AMONG BHILS OF RAJASTHAN

By S. Navlakha

1. An oil press, which I have briefly described in the following lines, came to my notice among Bhils during my field investigations on them in the early part of 1958. It was first reported to me at Kundal in the district of Banswara and thereafter its use was confirmed at different village settlements in the same district. Its use is now, however, gradually diminishing and usually only a few families at a settlement possess it, lending it now and then to others for their use.

2. The oil press is an extremely simple device for extracting oil. It consists of two prepared planks of wood almost identically shaped and of nearly same dimensions. Fig. I, drawn of the first press I saw, shows the front view of the two planks *A* and *B* : *A* which is slightly longer than *B* measures 23″ in length, 6″ in maximum width and 1·3″ in thickness. It is shaped so as to obtain a highly tapering upper end and relatively less so at the lower end. The broadest region of the plank, which is closer to the lower end, is immediately followed, further towards the latter, by two lateral notches. At the upper end a hook is formed on the front aspect of the plank by retaining some length (2″) downwards of this end thicker than the rest of the plank body. This is easily discernible in the lateral view from Fig. II. The plank *B* measures 20″ in length, 6″ in maximum width and 1·2″ in thickness. It is identically shaped with lateral notches at the corresponding position but is different from the plank *A* in its absence of any hook at the upper end. Both the planks are almost uniformly thick through their body except that the lower ends in either case are slightly thicker (by less than 0·5″) than the upper.

CHĀTAWĀ—BHIL OIL PRESS

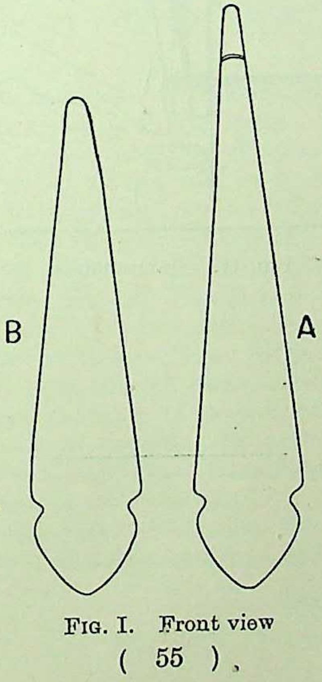

Fig. I. Front view

3. For manipulation of the oil press it is vertically placed. Plank *A* is tied to a hut pillar vertically from its hook with a *san* (sunn hemp) rope. Plank *B* is tied to the plank *A* at the region of their notches. The frontal surfaces of both the planks now face each other and become the interior walls of the press. Prepared and steamed oil seeds, contained in a cloth piece, are introduced between these walls. Another rope is wound round the pillar and the press (as shown in Fig. II) so that the manipulator, man or woman, now sitting on haunches on the ground facing the press puts one of his/her legs to rest on the lower end of the press and draws on forcefully at the two terminals of this rope. Thus a powerful pressure is exerted on the oil seeds between the press. The oil consequently drains out from the lateral sides of the press and is collected in a vessel kept just below on the ground.

4. The oil is extracted from *mahua* seeds. The collected seeds are crushed and then steamed. The latter is done by keeping them in a cloth over a pot with boiling water inside it. Sometimes, although rarely, oil is extracted from the seeds of *Kaleji* tree, which is used for medicinal purposes. The *mahua* oil, however, serves in a variety of ways, chiefly in eating.

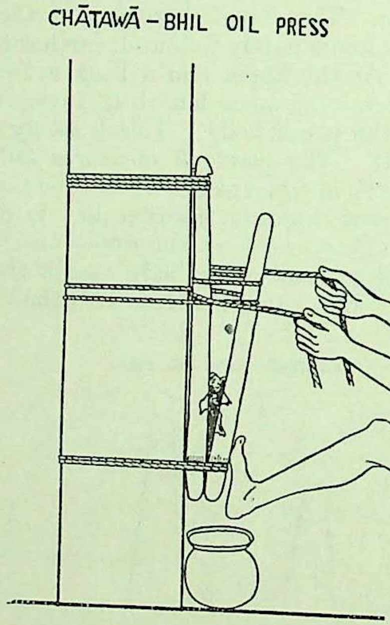

FIG. II. Manipulation

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REVIEWS OF BOOKS

GANDHI MARG: Edited by G. Ramachandran. Gandhi Smarak Nidhi, Rajghat, New Delhi. Quarterly. Subscription Rs.5 a year.

It is significant that an academic or intellectual interest is now being taken in Mahatma Gandhi's writings. While he lived, it was considered enough to 'follow' him; and there was hardly any critical, sympathetic interest in what he thought, or in how non-violence actually worked out in collective practice.

It is encouraging therefore that a move in the right direction has now been taken. The Gandhi Smarak Nidhi has been running a quarterly journal entitled *Gandhi Marg* in which articles of value are published from various parts of the world. It is natural that in the early stages of our 'discovery' of Gandhism, more importance should be attached to the written words of the Master than upon critical assessment, or independent thinking on parallel lines in relation to contemporary problems. One hopes, however, that as maturity is reached, these will become the prevailing characteristics of the articles published.

One important service that the present journal can render is to organize and publish a critical, historical study of the numerous satyagraha movements that have taken place in India: how they shaped under Gandhiji's direction or of others; what responses were evoked if the issue was social, economic or political; what happened when there was loss of discipline, how it was restored, and so on. We do hope a systematic study along these lines will not be outside the scope of the *Gandhi Marg*. Our earnest prayer is that it should not gravitate into a propaganda machinery of a new 'sect'.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE.

MYTHS OF THE NORTH-EAST FRONTIER OF INDIA: By Verrier Elwin. North-East Frontier Agency. Shillong, 1958. Pp. xxii+448. Price Rs.10.

Dr. Verrier Elwin has of late been more concerned with the imaginative life and oral literature of the tribal people of India. In his present capacity as Adviser for Tribal Affairs to the Governor of Assam, he has had a singularly favourable opportunity of travel and contact in a comparatively inaccessible part of India. It is evident from his present collection of myths that adequate use has been made of that opportunity.

The book is divided into four parts, dealing respectively with myths relating to Heaven and Earth, Man and His History, The Daily Life of Man and The World of Animals. In the introduction, a general account has been given of the principal features of these stories; while a brief comparison has also been made occasionally with stories from elsewhere. There is also a critical appraisal of the literary quality of these products of tribal imagination.

Each section of the book is preceded by a statement regarding the salient features of the myths which follow immediately; this being particularly helpful to students of comparative folklore.

We hope the present collection will receive the same welcome as the author's previous publications relating to Orissa and Madhya Pradesh.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE.

INDONESIAN SOCIOLOGICAL STUDIES, Part Two: RULER AND REALM IN EARLY JAVA. Selected Writings of B. Schrieke. W. van Hoeve Ltd., The Hague and Bandung, 1957. Pages 491.

This is the third volume in the series *Selected Studies on Indonesian History by Dutch Scholars* being brought out for publication by an editorial committee affiliated with the Royal Tropical Institute in Amsterdam. It is an immensely learned work based on an exhaustive study of all available original sources of Javanese history beginning with old Javanese literary works and inscriptions and ending with the Dutch East India Company's records and other documents of the seventeenth, eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, and it further takes into account all important secondary sources for this period. Left unfinished by the author at the time of his lamented death in 1945, it has been brought into shape by the editors with the addition of two supplementary chapters and two appendices from the author's detached writings for the purpose of filling up the gaps in his project.

The author's keynote is struck in the words of his Introduction (pp. 3-4) which are amplified in his inter-chapter (pp. 97–100) between Books I and II. 'The Java of around A.D. 1700', he writes, 'was in reality the same as the Java around A.D. 700' and in fact 'was already in existence even before the beginning of the Hindu-Javanese period'. The structure comprised a number of geographical regions under their rulers and their staff and other subjects, each region in its turn consisting of a conglomeration of villages under elders forming a link between the ruler's administration and the general population. The continuity of Javanese history is explained by the immutability of two primary factors, viz. that the foreign immigrants in comparison with the Javanese people always formed an insignificant minority, and that the Javanese 'landscape' (geography) because of the absence of technological development in the island retained its dominating influence through the ages. The corollary of the above conception of Javanese history is a new methodology involving 'the elucidation of situations, conditions and concepts prevailing in the Hindu-Javanese period by means of parallels drawn from more recent history'.

Of the contents of this work we can only give a brief outline. In Book I the author describes with full references the part played by the old Javanese concepts of the transfer of 'the mystical light of royalty', of the king as an incarnation of Vishnu 'as it were *ex officio*' and of the fiction of the descent of kings especially in the female line, towards the end of legitimatizing new monarchs and dynasties and of thus 'bringing into harmony with the cosmic order facts which had every appearance of being contrary to that order'. The author further describes the influence upon Javanese historiography of the Javanese concept of the four age-cycles (*yugas*) with 'the Messiah' as the saviour of the world after the chaos at the end of the *Kali* Age, as well as the influence of the stories of Vena and Prithu in the Javanese *Purāṇas*. In Book II the author, after a preliminary account of the natural divisions of the island, gives us a very thorough and exhaustive survey based on records of the seventeenth, eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries of the Javanese system of roads and waterways, methods of warfare and their economic consequences as well as administrative regions together with the lists of ministers and other officers in charge of the same. This leads to the conclusion that 'in a territory with a predominantly goods economy, an inadequate system of roads and primitive military technique, the inevitable fate of the realm would be to fall apart'. Then follows a very thoughtful and suggestive essay showing how the spread of Islam in the archipelago was due to antagonism between the Moslems and the Portuguese, the latter being inspired by crusading zeal against Islam and Islamic trade, and the former reacting by an organized attempt to expand their sphere of influence by peaceful propaganda as well as holy war. The author further stresses the great rôle played by scholars arriving from Mecca who rose to positions of trust at the royal courts and commanding influence among the people. The chief centre of activity of these scholars was Achin at the tip of Sumatra, 'the principal emporium of Indian trade with the archipelago' through which Java mainly received 'its spiritual nourishment from Moslem India and the Holy Land' (p. 248). 'The Indian influences', the author observes (p. 260), 'and by way of Indian economic, religious and cultural channels, also the influences from the Holy Land, made their impress upon Achin and through Achin on the archipelago.'

Mention may be made in the next place of the author's very thoughtful essay entitled *The end of classical Hindu-Javanese civilization in Central Java in the beginning of the tenth century: a study in economic geography.* The author's final conclusion (p. 301) is that 'the Central Javanese royal culture was destroyed by its own temples', as the people being pressed for this work apparently by soccage service were ultimately compelled to migrate to East Java which supplanted Central Java as the centre of power.

From the above brief summary it will appear that the present work is of surpassing interest. We may, however, be permitted to offer a few criticisms. In making out his case for the unity of Javanese history the author has confined himself wholly to the political fortunes of the island and has altogether ignored the at least equally important history of its literature and art. Even so, Book I of his work is itself a testimony to the overwhelming and enduring influence of the impact of Ancient Indian history and culture upon the whole history of the island. The concluding essay on the spread of Islam, which confines itself similarly to the political history of Java, is conclusive evidence of the vital rôle played by Islam in shaping the history of the island from the sixteenth century onwards. The above facts considerably weaken the force of the author's argument based exclusively upon the ethnic and geographical factors for proving the continuity of Javanese history. To turn to another point, we think that the author would have done well to analyse the component elements of the Javanese concepts of the temporal ruler and the cycle of the four *yugas* which, as has been shown by the present reviewer in his forthcoming work *A History of Indian Political Ideas*, comprise in their Indian original the distinct, though allied, notions of the king's authority based upon his origin, his office and his functions (especially as the maker of his epoch).

The value of the present work is greatly enhanced by the addition of two maps, an exhaustive bibliography, a glossary of old Javanese terms and a good index.

2-12-1958

U. N. GHOSAL

HISTORY OF THE CANDELLAS OF JEJAKABHUKTI. By Dr. N. S. Bose, M.A., Ph.D. (London). Pp. 1–213. Published by K. L. Mukhopadhyay, Calcutta, 1956. Price Rs.10.

Originally the contents of this book formed the subject-matter of a thesis of Dr. N. S. Bose approved for the Ph.D. degree of the

London University in 1954. The treatise consists of 8 chapters—the first five of which describe the political history of the several kings of the Candella dynasty of ancient Jejakabhukti (modern Bundelkhand region of the Madhya Pradesh State). There is no doubt that the author's attempt to write such a history is the result of a sort of inspiration which he got from a study of Dr. H. C. Roy's *Dynastic History of Northern India* which really served as 'a preparatory clearing ground' for future researchers. So the scholarly world must feel grateful to Dr. Bose who has produced such a history of the Candella kings who ruled that part of our country for over four hundred years (A.D. *c.* 831–*c.* 1310), with varying fortunes. The author in his effort to trace the full history of the Candellas has drawn mostly from contemporary epigraphic documents, literary works, Moslem sources, monographs and a large number of articles written by different scholars in important journals. Besides the political history of the dynasty, Dr. Bose has in Chapters VI and VII of his book discussed in some detail the administration, society, religion, architecture and sculpture of the period and this has enhanced largely the value of the production. In the last chapter (VIII) he has pointed out the significance of the relation between the Candellas and the other contemporary political powers in Central and Northern India.

As all historians know, the history of the particular period is a history of feuds and wars carried on by several dynasties which came into independent being on the fall of the great Pratihāra rulers of Kanauj which took place early in the tenth century A.D. For a reconstruction of the history of each of these individual dynasties of the period one has no other way than to depend on the inadequate materials we have in hand, and in this matter Dr. N. S. Bose has done his part rather splendidly for scholars' convenience in studying the complicated history of the period. Undue glorification of ancient rulers of old has, I am afraid, become a passion with some scholars in our country and they never remember that they thus transgress the function of true historians. Dr. Bose, however, seems to have kept himself above such a wrong temptation while assessing the achievements of the kings with whose history he is engaged in dealing. Real history of every period is not the political history of kings alone, but it must be also a history of the different sections of people making the social life of the community. Dr. Bose has given proper attention to this fact in Chapters VI and VII of his book. The topographical map at the beginning appears to be very small and it would have been more welcome to us had it been printed in an enlarged form.

Dr. Bose's identification (p. 42) of Vināyakapāladeva of Khajuraho inscription of A.D. 954 with the Candella ruler, Dhanga himself seems to us very plausible. Dr. Bose's knowledge of all the relevant Moslem sources for collecting relevant materials for the Candella history is efficient and praiseworthy and he has discussed all the facts collected by him from those sources in a manner which speaks for great credit on his attainments. The description of the conflict of Sultan Mahmud and Vidyādhara is a pleasant reading indeed.

Our only regret is that this book has not been printed with diacritical marks, where necessary. Such a defect is very unfortunate and disappointing to reading scholars.

It is true that many controversial subjects, topics and problems have been naturally introduced by the author in his book, and although decisions on them all may not have been always approbatory, the author has tried his best, sometimes with success, to arrive at solutions which stand liable to be subjected to critical examination by future workers on the Candella history. But the book may undoubtedly be commended as a fine contribution to Indian history.

RADHAGOVINDA BASAK

URDU RASMUL KHAT AUR TABAA'AT, written by Prof. Haroon Khan Sherwani and published by the Manager of Publications, Masood Manzil, Himayat Nagar, Hyderabad (Deccan), is an earnest attempt to discuss the drawbacks of the Urdu script, the practical difficulties in printing it and the possibility of adopting the Roman script in place of the Urdu script in vogue. The litho is a cheap medium of printing. It affords full scope for writing beautifully and legibly in the 'NASTALEEQ' style and hence satisfies the aesthetic sense of the readers. The Nastaleeq type is very complicated and cannot be a practical success. The 'Naskh' type looks ugly, as it fails to maintain a good standard of beautiful impressions, but the advantages of the type are many. The impressions of the litho tend to grow faint after 1,000 prints. Lead type will give any number of clean prints. The litho does not present any scope for the printing of half-tone blocks so essential in modern printing. By clinging to the litho we shall be denying ourselves the blessings of the Linotype and the Monotype and we shall be very much behind in competition in the commercial and the journalistic world. But the very system of Urdu calligraphy does not easily admit of a successful system of 'Type'. Urdu letters change their shapes frequently according to their positions in a word. The whole thing becomes much more complicated as certain signs are also necessary to make a complete word. The author has discussed in some detail the points mentioned above. He has analysed the drawbacks of the Nastaleeq type, Naskh type, Basic type, introduced in the Deccan and also some other forms of type used in Fort William College, Calcutta. Attempts have been made from time to time to convert the Urdu script into a scientific and workable system of 'Type'. But they have not met with the desired success. Naskh is comparatively less complicated but it cannot be said to be wholly workable. All the publications of the Calcutta University, the High School Board and the West Bengal Government are in Naskh type. But the difficulties associated with Urdu lead type baffle all attempts at solution. The drawbacks of printing are real and its problems are many. We cannot bring about a revolutionary change. If the Naskh system is allowed to work for a considerable period of time and is widely popularised, our experience in the line will show us the way to overcome the difficulties in a patient and systematic manner. But the author is not hopeful of a solution. Hence he has advocated the adoption of Roman script for Urdu. This suggestion is not new. Dr. S. K. Chatterji, of Calcutta, has already pronounced his views in favour of Roman script for Hindi. The Royal Asiatic Society of London have evolved their own system for writing and printing Roman Urdu. The Christian missionaries of Bengal have used this system with considerable success. During the British rule, Roman Urdu was in vogue in the military. It is all true and has been systematically put by the author. It is a fact that a considerable time is spent by beginners in mastering the different exercises on combination of letters, and in spite of all these labours, it is not possible to read a foreign name or an unfamiliar word with a certain degree of correctness. But all these drawbacks do invite improvements in the existing system of writing. The author believes in one change only and that is to adopt Roman script. That will, in his opinion, cure Urdu of all the evils engendered in it.

The author has given a short history of the Roman script and its adoption by countries such as Persian-speaking States of the Soviet Republic, Indonesia and other countries. Even in Arabic publications scientific and foreign names are bracketed in Roman to convey the correct idea of the word. In India, a considerable number of people advocate the use of 'Roman' for all Indian languages for the sake of uniformity, correctness and ease. But sentiment stands in the way of progress in that direction.

The arguments forwarded by the author in support of his claim are worthy of consideration and are quite impressive. But it would be unjust to ignore the good features of Urdu script which have certain advantages not enjoyed by other scripts, including the Roman script. Urdu script requires less space and time. The movements of the letters, their different phases of combinations are so psychological that as compared to other scripts they are liable to produce less tiresome effects on the writer. It can be written quicker than Roman.

The book under review impresses one by its earnestness of appeal and by a coherent presentation of facts. We hope that it will be read with interest and will stimulate thought over a topic which has lately been subjected to much controversy and discussion.

SAID AHMAD AKBARABADI.

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BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SUPPLEMENT

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"THE WORD ABOUT IGOR'S FOLK"

(Slovo O Pŭlku Igorevě)

AS A SPECIMEN OF OLD SLAV AND INDO-EUROPEAN HEROIC POETRY

By SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI

(Paper read by the Author on 8th September, 1958, before the Section for Early Literatures in the *Fourth International Conference of Slavists* held under the auspices of the Soviet Academy of Sciences in the University of Moscow, September 1–10, 1958 : revised and enlarged.)

The Slav-speaking nations form a distinct branch of the group of peoples speaking Indo-European languages. The original Indo-European speech became characterized with its associated culture and mentality at least 4,500 years ago, in the dry grass-lands to the south of the Ural Mountains, embracing part of Asia and part of Europe. Previous to that has been unravelled the older vista of the Indo-Hittite speech and culture which is at the back of Indo-European, but excepting to some extent on the linguistic side, we have not been able to find out anything of importance about the Indo-Hittite *milieu*. But so far as the Indo-European peoples are concerned, Primitive Indo-European (as reconstructed linguistically and culturally, by the modern science of Comparative Linguistics) is enough for our purposes, when we are confining ourselves to any of the well-attested groups or branches of Indo-European.

The ancient Indo-European languages (their ancient periods sometimes are projected right down to the beginning of the second millennium A.D. in some areas) give us in their extant literatures the picture of an age and a social background which have been conveniently called *Heroic*. This Heroic Age is represented most conspicuously in the early Indo-European literatures of India, Greece, Germania and the Celtic world. A few fragments of the Iranian heroic world, which was at least as ancient as those of Greece and India, are found in the remains of Avesta literature; and the heroic traditions of Iran have been preserved in a medieval garb, in the *Shāh-nāmah* of Firdausī. The Old Iranian names have been transformed into a Modern Iranian at the end of this tradition (e.g. Yima-xšaēta, Θraētaona, Ṛnavāc, * Zarita, * Hrauta-āpah, * Raudastama, * Suxrāspa, etc., becoming the Modern Persian Jamšīd, Farīdūn, Arnavāz, Zāl, Rūdābah, Rustam, Suhrāb, etc., respectively); and the heroic and primitive nature of the stories has been made into something romantic and medieval. A similar transformation is noticed, for example, in the Old Germanic epic of Sigurd and Brynhild as it became modified within the more sophisticated atmosphere of the Middle High German romantic poem, the *Nibelungen Lied*. The Irish heroic tales, relating for example to the *Táin Bó Cualnge* ('the Dun Cow of Cooley') cycle in which feature such national heroes and heroines as Conchobor and Medb, Cú-chulaind and Emer, and Noisi and Derdriu, who are of the same family as the heroes and heroines of the *Mahābhārata* and the *Iliad* and of the early Germanic hero-legends, have been preserved in manuscripts like the *Lebor na-Huidre* of the twelfth century, and in other documents slightly younger. But they are sufficiently primitive, so as to preserve the atmosphere of an Irish heroic age which goes back to the centuries immediately before and after Christ. All these works—in Old Greek (the Greek epics of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*), in Sanskrit (as in the *Mahābhārata* and the older *Purāṇas*, and to some extent also in the earlier Vedas, in spite of their liturgical character), in the Old Germanic speeches (as in the Old Norse *Elder Edda* and *Volsunga Saga*, the Old English *Bēowulf*, and other similar Old English, Old Norse and Old High German poems and heroic fragments), and the Old Irish (as in the Cú-chulaind and Find saga cycles)—present a considerable amount of family likeness in their social and political atmosphere and in their *Weltanschauung*, which indicate the likelihood of a number of basic inheritances from the Primitive Indo-European world of centuries and centuries before. It is a far cry from 2500 B.C. of the unbroken Primitive Indo-European to eleventh or tenth century B.C. Greek world of Homer and the Indian world of the *Mahābhārata*, or the equally ancient age of the earlier Iranian heroes whose exploits are preserved in the *Shāh-nāmah* of A.D. 1000, and the early Celtic and Germanic heroic worlds of the centuries immediately before and after Christ. But the old tradition has been to a considerable extent preserved both in the social atmosphere and in the mental attitudes of the protagonists in the heroic cycles of these diverse countries and at diverse ages. Works like H. Munro Chadwick's *Heroic Age* and Nirmal K. Sidhanta's *Heroic Age of India* show agreements among the heroic ages of ancient Greece, of the Germanic world and of India in the Old Indo-Aryan period. Prof. Myles Dillon in a very valuable paper ('The Archaic Tradition in Old Irish Literature', being the Rhys Memorial Lecture for 1947, as published in the *Proceedings of the British Academy for 1947*, pp. 245–264) gives some very suggestive comparisons between the worlds of Indian and Irish heroic saga. Points of agreement similarly can be found among the different branches of ancient Indo-European—the *Mahābhārata* recalls the Homeric poems, and *vice versa*, and both of these accord remarkably in many matters with the Germanic and the Celtic heroic sagas. Even in their later transformations, when the heroic became romantic, we find a good deal of similarity of atmosphere among such diverse expressions of the heroic-romantic as in the tales of the *Shāh-nāmah*, of medieval Germanic legend as in the *Nibelungen Lied* and connected works, and the Old French *Chanson de Roland* and the Old Spanish *Poema del Cid*, although the last two have preserved nothing of the pre-Christian remnants which characterize the other works.

In this community of an earlier heroic and a later romantic literary self-expression, the world of the Slavs, as being within the Indo-European orbit, certainly does present, if not an absolute *lacuna*, a considerable amount of poverty. The Finno-Ugrian neighbours of the Slavs have given to World Literature two of their characteristic epic or heroic cycles—the *Kalevala* of Finland and the *Kalevipoeg* of Esthonia. These books present something fantastic and even Gargantuan, and their heroic character lacks that full-blooded life and that intensity of love and romance which we find in the Indo-European world. With the presence of their Finnish neighbours to their North and West, it would appear to be rather strange that the Slavs should have either not developed heroic cycles at all, or should have forgotten them, if they had any to start with. The Finnish and Esthonian epics were collected only in the nineteenth century, and in spite of possible editing and additions by their compilers, the atmosphere of the pre-Christian Finno-Ugrian world, with its own human values and its verisimilitude with regard to the life around, has been admirably preserved. If Christianity was alone responsible for the large-scale removal of pre-Christian traditions in the Slav world, it would be in striking contrast with what we see in the Finno-Ugrian world. Probably the time-factor, as well as remoteness, had something to do with the greater preservation of the pre-Christian atmosphere among the Finns and the Esths than among the Slavs and the Balts.

The pre-Christian bases of Slav culture which would hark back to a heroic period of Slav history were certainly there. The language itself furnishes the most important evidence, and Old Slav preserves some Primitive Indo-European linguistic features more than any other branch of Indo-European. In Slav onomastics, here and there we find names which have a pure Primitive Indo-European ring about them. After affiliating themselves to Christian Byzantium and Rome (and to some extent to Zoroastrian Iran and pagan Scandinavia, and influenced also by the Iranian Saka or Skythian people, and by Finno-Ugrian and Altaic peoples, in the case of the Russians), the Slavs, from the closing centuries of the first thousand years after Christ, made haste to forget their pre-Christian heritages in heroic tradition and in religious and ritualistic notions and practices. They also began to forget their old Gods, although these Gods survived to some extent in folk-lore. Dim memories of them have been preserved in the *Slovo* (see below), which gives occasionally and in a matter-of-course manner names of some of the Old Russian and Slav deities like Dazhbog, Stribog, Veles, Khors and Div, and the great Virgin Goddess of the Slavs; and besides, the spirits of the forest and the waters are there. It would appear that the first Christian missionaries, from both Orthodox Greek and Catholic Roman areas, made a very thorough work, as much as they did in the continental Germanic world. Nevertheless, a few precious fragments of the Indo-European religion and mythology and of the pre-Christian heroic age have survived among the Slavs. The facts and the speculations are well known to scholars and specialists, and it is not necessary to recapitulate them.

Compared with the large (and in some cases quite a huge) mass of such heroic material which has been left by the Sanskrit, Old Greek, Old Irish and Old Germanic literatures, Slav literature gives us precious little, no doubt. India is once more becoming alive to the greatness of her *Mahābhārata*, as a national heritage as well as a universal document, not merely for heroic poetry and heroic adventure, but also as a work of imagination which has been suffused by the most intimate, most profound, and most extensive and inclusive philosophical thought of the ancient Indians. India has, of course, never forgotten her *Mahābhārata* (nor her *Rāmāyaṇa*), but the tradition has become coloured by the tinted glasses of medieval romance and medieval piety, as much as by what may be called her early *composite* and *classical* philosophy and didacticism. The revival of the atmosphere of the Sanskrit *Mahābhārata* was in a way attempted through a Persian translation (though mainly on the story side) during the spacious days of the Mogul Emperor Akbar the Great (second half of the sixteenth century), when the best Indian artists of the day attempted to revive, according to their lights, the pageantry and the glory of ancient Hindudom, as far as they could do it within Muslim or Indo-Persian surroundings. But the real meaning of the *Mahābhārata* and the proper historical approach to it, taking note of the heroic atmosphere and all, is now engrossing the attention of a good section of the intellectual *élite* of India, including both scientists as well as those who are dedicated to humanistic studies. We should mention in this context the great critical edition of this greatest work of Indian civilization which is nearing completion under the auspices of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute of

Poona, and the numerous historical and critical studies as well as appreciations and interpretations of the *Mahābhārata* by scholars and literary men from all parts of India. Homer's epics have been studied in Western Europe through Roman eyes and also through medieval and French eyes. But with a new classical revival in Germany and Western Europe from the eighteenth century, Europe has gradually sought to rehabilitate Homer and the Greek heroic world in their proper perspective. Side by side with that, comparison with the Germanic and Celtic heroic worlds became inevitable. But not much could be done for such comparison with the Slav world, because of want of materials.

Whether we have the 200,000 lines in the *Mahābhārata* and 48,000 lines in the *Rāmāyaṇa* (which is not a work in the strictly heroic tradition, being more an imaginative production on the romantic side composed by a single author or group of authors rather than a mass of folk-literature essentially in the heroic tradition, which the *Mahābhārata* is) and the 16,000 lines of the *Iliad*, and the 60,000 lines of the *Shāh-nāmah*, and quite a respectable mass of prose and verse literature emanating from the very living heroic tradition in Old Irish and in Early Welsh, besides the not inconsiderable remnants of Germanic hero-saga, all that we can hold up for the Slav world is the single Old Russian epic or hero-saga, the *Word about Igor's Folk* (the **Slovo O Pŭlku Igorevě**) which barely comes up to 770 lines (in a verse form generally of 11 syllables to the line arranged into dactyls with initial stress), and the poetic fragments in the *Queen's Court Manuscript* (*Královédvorský' Rukopis*) and the *Green Hill Manuscript* (*Zelenehorský' Rukopis*) from Czecho-Slovakia.

In the case of the poetic-heroic fragments and lyrics in the Czech language, as in the two MSS. as discovered and edited by Vaclav Hanka early in the last century, these have been generally condemned as spurious, and even as literary forgeries; although at the present moment one hears that the question of their authenticity is once again exercising philological and historical scholarship of the learned world among the Czechs. We need not take into consideration the romantic lyrics in the *Queen's Court Manuscript*. But the heroic circle relating to Libusa and Přemysl and to kings like Slavoi, Zaboi and Ludiek would be quite *à propos* in the study of a Slav heroic age. The present writer cannot claim any competence to speak on this matter, although to him, as to a lay student, there appears to be a considerable amount of really heroic atmosphere in the Old Czech sagas. But the spirit of MacPherson's *Ossian* might have been unconsciously or deliberately working here, and so before scholars of Czech philology and linguistics have finally given their decision in favour of the absolute antiquity and authenticity of these fragments of Czech heroic poetry, we would not be justified in accepting them as such.

Another epic cycle which is great as heroic poetry has been contributed to the Slav world by the Yugoslavs—the epic ballads forming the cycle of the Battle of Kossovo. But here we are already out of the semi-barbarous heroic atmosphere, and find ourselves within one that is essentially mystic in its Christianity and is also romantic-patriotic; and consequently the fourteenth-century Yugoslav Kossovo Ballads about Tsar Lazar and about the heroes like the nine Jugovic brothers cannot be regarded as being within the orbit of an ancient heroic saga cycle, although they are great poetry.

In point of extent, and to some extent in character as a national epic, the Old Turki poem of *Oghuz-name* can be mentioned along with the Old Russian *Slovo*. The *Oghuz-name* has not got that elaborate representation of personalities in Old Turki history, unlike what we have in the Old Russian epic which is full of references to contemporary and earlier historical personages connected with early Russian history. It is a work confining itself to the exploits of a typical national hero, and poetical portions of the *Slovo* can be compared with those in the *Oghuz-name,* which is less than even 650 lines in length.

The case of the heroic poem in Old Russian—the *Word about Igor's Folk*—is something different. Here, again, the matter has been very controversial, ever since the manuscript was discovered in the last decade of the eighteenth century and the first edition from it was published by Count Musin-Pushkin in 1800. After the unfortunate destruction of the manuscript by burning in 1812, another manuscript-copy made under the orders of Empress Catherine, and the printed edition, formed our only source for the study of the work. About its authenticity, opinion naturally became divided. But the comparative lateness of the work—composed as it was during the last two decades of the twelfth century—certainly placed the seat of it on a firm historical ground. Small though the work is, its importance in the cultural history of the Russians and the Slavs has been tacitly accepted. The most informed scholarship of Russia and the Slav world, as well as of other countries of Europe interested in Slavistics, has taken up the problem. Naturally, an enormous amount of *Slovo* research has been done by Russian and other Slav savants. Unfortunately we in India, who are just at the beginning of Slav studies, are totally ignorant of it, and the problem of the *Slovo* has not even been heard of here. There were the 'Skeptics' (like Sonkovsky, and Kočerovsky); and the 'Zadonščina' (like E. D. Barsov, A. S. Smirnov, etc.) who favoured the authenticity of the work, with whom we can also mention modern scholars like N. K. Gudzy, S. P. Obnorsky, V. P. Adrianov-Perets, D. S. Lixačov and S. E. Malov, among others. The results of their researches in a monograph in some West European language, English or French or German, would be a great boon for the world outside, interested in the *Slovo* (as a heroic poem in the Indo-European tradition), but not familiar with Russian. (I am indebted to my Russian friends in Moscow for giving me the above information and the names.)

Long ago, the English scholar Leonard A. Magnus in his *Tale of the Armament of Igor* (Oxford University Press, 1915) had successfully advocated the authenticity of the Old Russian epic; and this edition, with English translation and notes, gave the poem in its restored metric form, and discussed all matters connected with its historicity as well as its pre-Christian Old Slav background. It would appear that one of the latest authoritative pronouncements published outside the Slav world on the question of its authenticity as a genuine document of Russian and Slav antiquity, and of the Slav heroic age, has been the erudite work of Prof. Roman Jakobson and his colleagues (in *La Geste du Prince Igor,* by Henri Grégoire, Roman Jakobson, Mark Szeftel and J. A. Joffé: New York, 1948). In this work Prof. Jakobson has, in addition to giving a full study of the text, and historical and linguistic notes and elucidations, taken up the very important topic of its genuineness. The French School of Critics, with Prof. André Mazon at its head, had expressed scepticism and had declared the work to be late and spurious. The details of the linguistic, historical and cultural appraisement of this poem are not within the competent purview of the present writer. But as a lay person interested in linguistics, who has been a little *au tour du sujet* in Indo-European (including Slav) antiquity and culture, and who also confesses to a certain sentimental or emotional weakness for the heroic world as in early literatures (as a developed literary taste or bias), he has found Prof. Jakobson's conclusions to be quite in order, both in their science and in their humanism.

The *Slovo* therefore, on this authority, can be taken as representing to a large extent the tradition of the Slav heroic age, although in a slightly late Russian form. (This is of course quite different from the romantic-heroic world of the later Russian heroes, the *Bogatyrs*.) I must also confess that I am pleased to hear that Professor Mazon has since revised his opinion about the authenticity of the *Slovo*: and indeed, I am glad that the consensus of learned opinion among the scholars in Russia and outside Russia is that the *Slovo* is the truly national *epos* of the Russian people.

Precious little indeed has been salvaged from the past abyss of time in these 770 short lines of the poem of the *Slovo*. But we are indeed very thankful for the glimpses it affords of the Russian and Old Slav heroic age. The world of Slav mythology, with its mystery and its sense of kinship with Nature, is there; and we have glimpses of it as it is looming behind as a background of the poem. The words which are used and the pictures which are evoked frequently go to the elemental; as we find in most ancient poetry harking back to a time when man had not been able as yet to detach himself from Nature, of which he felt himself to be a part and not a master, and had but partly achieved or was seeking to achieve control over the forces of Nature. Time and often, many of the expressions in the *Slovo* recall the atmosphere of primitive poetry, wherever it has been preserved. The poem, like all great literary creations, which referred to the world of man, has its own character. Contemporary Russian history with all its ramifications of small dynasties and their rulers and scions, and their doings, noble or commonplace or mean, have been touched upon with a knowledge and a conviction which take away all suspicions of spuriousness or lateness or artificiality in the composition of the poem. A historical commentary on the poem firmly establishes it in a space-and-time context. Igor, the hero, was an historical person who lived from 1151 to 1201; he married in 1184 Evfrósina Yaroslávna who is mentioned in the *Slovo*, and he had five sons by her. There is a detailed account of his fight with the Tatar hosts and his capture by them and subsequent escape, in 1185, which is the subject of the poem. The copious mentions of other historical persons form very valuable incidental references in the poem, which are important equally for the history of the times and for the authenticity of the work. The Germanic Scandinavians from the ninth century formed the ruling class among the Uralic Finns and the Slavs (the Finnish name for the Swedes, *Ruotsi*, became *Rusĭ* and *Ruś*, and was gradually extended to the Slavs of the North-east to give their national name, *Rus* or Russian). These Scandinavians merged among the Russian Slavs in a few generations, and became Slav in speech, and took freely Slav names although they retained in a modified Slav or Old Russian form many of their Old Scandinavian names. *Ígorĭ* (Igoŕ) is such a Russian name of Scandinavian origin (from Old Scandinavian *Ingvarr*).

The *Language* of the *Slovo* is terse, direct and vigorous, and it seems it has inherited from the earlier age of Old Slav heroic poetry most of its fine qualities. Early Slav literature is mainly ecclesiastical. The biggest work available in Old Church Slav, the translation of the Bible, is based on the Greek, on which its syntax and also many of its new words are modelled. But here in the *Slovo*, it would appear that we have an old survival of a natural Slav poetic diction, which can be rightly placed beside that of the *Vēdas*, the *Elder Edda*, and of the Old Irish poetic compositions.

The *Moral Code* which is placed before the warriors and the women is the simple morality of an unspoilt primitive folk. There is loyalty and spirit of comradeship in war, and there is a sense of duty with respect for the leader. There is also the tender picture of a lady of noble character and attainments, Yaroslávna, the wife of the hero Igor, with her deep love for her husband who has gone to the wars; and her solicitude and anxiety for his welfare and for that of his comrades are brought out most beautifully in this poem. There is further a sense of pride in one's own people, and eagerness to protect them against barbarous and cruel marauding foemen. And above all, there is the innate sense of looking to the common good of the people. Things which make heroic poetry really noble and elevating and inspiring, in raising oneself above the ordinary level to high and heroic and self-sacrificing action, are there in this short little work, which is great in spite of its slight extent. The romance and pageantry of the heroic age is presented before us, as a cavalcade in which warriors in steel helmets and armour and in the gorgeous splendour of their crimson shields and colourful garments and furs march in a procession, as it were, along the stage in front of us.

The *Note of Nature* we find beautifully exemplified in this poem in a number of scattered passages. These are in themselves very simple and effective and beautiful withal, and they sometimes recall the similes of Homer, and sometimes the terse descriptive epithets and comparisons in Sanskrit, Persian and Germanic heroic poetry, and sometimes the more elaborate comparisons in Old Irish heroic saga, and particularly in Ossian (*pace* critics of Ossian who ignore Old Irish and later Gaelic poetry). They remind one also of the exquisite beauty of Far-Eastern—Chinese and Japanese—nature poetry.

I can only quote a few passages at random (the references by lines are to Leonard A. Magnus's edition and translation) :*

'In his thought he used to fly in the trees, [race] like a grey wolf on earth, [soar] like a dusky eagle beneath clouds' (lines 10–12):

to rastokašetsya myslĭyu pó drevu,
sěrymŭ volkomŭ pó zemlya,
šizymŭ orlomŭ podŭ oblaky.

* * * *

'Like as a storm bore hawks before it across the broad fields, the crows, in flocks run towards the mighty Don' (lines 69–72):

ne burya sokoly zanese,
črezŭ polya širókaya ;
ğalitsi stady běžatĭ
kŭ Donu velikomu.

* * * *

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* I am giving Old Russian text of the passages quoted in a Roman transliteration, only to bring before persons interested in the subject but not familiar with Slav and Russian something of the phonetic and rhythmic aspect of the language of this little masterpiece of poetry in an Early Slav speech, redolent with the atmosphere of the pre-Christian Slavdom. I bring these specifically before Indian scholars familiar with Sanskrit and with the Indo-European bases of Sanskrit. The transcription followed is that of Romanized Slav for linguistic studies, and the following points in it may be noted: **č**, **š** are like English *ch*, *sh*; **ž** is the French *j*, the sound of *zh* in the English word *pleasure*; **ĭ**, **ŭ** are very short sounds; **ě** is like *ye*; **y** is for **ui**, a peculiar Slav vowel, an **i** with tongue retracted, when it stands by itself (i.e. not before the vowels a, u)—in **ya**, **yu**, the **y** is as in English; and **x** is the unvoiced velar spirant, like German *ch* in *ach, doch* (this is now usually transcribed as *kh* in English, and commonly as *ch* following the German).

'The sun barred his way with darkness, night groaned to him; and roused the birds with terror; the shrill tones of beasts aroused him; Div arose crying calls on the tree-top' (lines 102–107):

solntse emu tmoyu
putĭ zastupaše;
nošĭ stonyaše emu
grozoyu ptičĭ ubudí;
svistŭ zvěrinŭ vŭzsta;
zŭby Divŭ kličetĭ vrŭxú dreva.

* * * *

'O land of Russiá, already art thou beyond the frontier-hill! Long is the night dark; the dawn has begun to give forth light; mist has rolled over the fields; the twitter of the nightingale is hushed; the speech of the crows has been awakened' (lines 125–131):

O ruskaya zemle, užé
za Šelómyanemŭ esi!
dlŭgo nočĭ mrĭknetŭ;
zarya světŭ zapalyá;
mĭ′gla polyá pókryla;
ščekotŭ slavii uspé;
govorŭ galičĭ ubudí.

* * * *

'On the second day, very early, blood-stained dawn-lights announce the day; black clouds approach from the sea, and are eager to bedim the four Suns, and in them there quiver blue lightning flashes. There shall ensue a fearful thunder; it shall rain arrows from the mighty Don' (lines 159–172):

drugógo dni velmí rano
krovavyya zori
světu pověda yutŭ.
černyya tučya sŭ′ morya íduti,
xotyatĭ prikrytĭ četyre solntsa;
a vŭ nixŭ trepešutĭ sinii molnii
byti gromu velikomu
itti doždyu strylami
sŭ Donu velikogo.

* * * *

'Now the winds, the scions of Stríbog, blow from the sea like arrows on to the courageous hosts of Ígor′. The Earth moans, the streams flow sullied, [clouds of] dust cover the fields, the banners murmur' (lines 175–181):

se vytri, Stríbože vnutsi,
věyutŭ čŭ′ morya strelami
na xrabryya polky Ígorevy.
Zemlya tutnetŭ,
rěky mutno tekutĭ,
porósi polyá prikry′vayutĭ,
styazi glagolyutŭ.

* * * *

'The grass bows down with woe and the tree bent to earth with sorrow' (lines 282–284):

ničitĭ trava zaloščami ;
a dřevo sŭ tugoyu
kŭ zemli preklonilosĭ.

* * * *

There are other passages, short, picturesque and trenchant, which bring in the background of Nature to intensify the heroic doings of man. One is frequently reminded of the similes and descriptive clichés of Germanic heroic poetry as in Old Norse and Old English, and occasionally (though rarely) of the Old Turki epic the *Oghuz-name*.

At least 2,000 years intervene between the *Vēdas* which were compiled, in all likelihood, in the tenth century B.C., and the *Slovo* which was composed during the last two decades of the twelfth century A.D. But if a great deal of the atmosphere of the *Vedic language* is preserved in Baltic and in Slav, some of the characteristic phrases and expressions also still linger in Baltic and in Slav. The Lithuanian Lyric Ballads or *Dainus* (a word which equates with the Sanskrit *Dhēnā*, meaning 'things which are remembered', and with the Iranian *Daēnā*, which came to mean 'faith or religion' and was taken over into Arabic as *Dēn* or *Dīn* meaning 'religion') have myths and poetical expressions which at times suggest the simple grandeur of the Vedic myths and Vedic poetry. The Lithuanian songs relating to the Moon-God Mēnuo marrying the Sun-Goddess Sauluš, and then neglecting the latter for the new love of the Morning-Star Aušriš, and finally being punished by the Storm-God Perkuns for it; the Dainu addressing the Sun-Goddess as 'the Daughter of the Sky', **Dievo Dukrite** —which is the exact equivalent of the Vedic **Duhitar Divaḥ** as an epithet of Uṣas, the Vedic Dawn-Goddess—certainly show the survival, albeit very meagre, of traditions of primitive Indo-European poetry, one aspect of which we find so much developed in the Vedas. It will not be too much to suggest that the famous invocations to the Wind, the Water and the Sun, which the loving and sorrowing wife of Igor, Yaroslávna, is making on the ramparts of the town of Putivl, have a Vedic ring about them, particularly in that splendid little invocation to the Sun:

'Oh sun, thou bright, thrice bright one! To all men art thou warm and beauteous! Wherefore, Master, hast thou spread thy burning beams over my love's men? Thou hast stretched their bows in the waterless plain with thirst, and choked their quivers with tribulations' (lines 656–662):

světloe i tresvětloe Solntse!
vsěmŭ tepló i krasnó esi!
čemu, gospódine, próstre
goryačyuyu svoyu luču na ladě voi ?
vŭ' polě bezvodně žaždeyu imŭ
luči sŭpryáže,
tugoyu imŭ tuli zátče !

This invocation can easily be rendered into Sanskrit, using a good many words of the original Old Russian text in their Sanskrit equivalents or cognate forms—so closely do the words (as much as the sentiments) of this unique fragment of what may be described as ancient Slav poetry run with the words and sentiments of Aryan and Indo-European language and poetry as preserved in the Vedas.

světloe i tresvětloe Solntse !
vsěmŭ tepló i krasnó esi !

in Sanskrit

śvētalaḥ āt tri-śvētalaḥ Sūryaka !
viśvēbhyas tāpalaḥ āt ślakṣṇaḥ (?) asi !

* * * *

The *passages describing Warfare* have, for the period when it was composed, a distinct archaic atmosphere, which would appear to have been inherited from a fuller literature or literary tradition which was gone or going away. The clichés of heroic poetry are distinctly old, and precede the age of medieval romance. The speeches and sayings of the warriors also are of same heroic mould—including the manner in which the heroes boast about their warlike prowess. Certainly, what is suggested in the first lines of this poem, is that it might properly breathe of 'the ancient diction' **(starymi slȏvesy)**; which, it may be presumed, is also preserved in analogous literature of the Germans and the Celts, and the Greeks and the Indo-Aryans and the Iranians. Like Vyāsa and Homer, Oisin and Wīdsīth, and the other nameless preservers of the 'ancient diction' of heroic story-telling in other parts of the Indo-European world, we have the name of Boyán invoked as the inspired singer of hero songs in the Slav tradition in the *Slovo.* Boyán is a sort of Slav Homer or Ossian, whose figure has been idealized in sculpture (in 1889, following, of course, the Greek tradition) by P. A. Velionovsky in his marble figure, as of a venerable seer-poet singing and playing on the *gusli* or Old Slav lyre, with a boy attendant (as preserved in the Russian Museum of Leningrad and in the Tretyakov Gallery of Moscow). Quite a number of other Russian artists have also tried to give a picture of Boyán in the Russian tradition, in the dress of a typical Russian *gusli*-playing bard. Boyán evidently, like the story of the *Slovo* itself, caught the imagination of artists and men of letters in Russia. Descriptions of the hero as one 'who extended his mind with firmness and sharpened his heart with manliness' (lines 32, 33: **iže styagnu umŭ krěpostiyu svoeyu, i poostri serdtsa [svoẹgo] mužestvomŭ**), or realistic pictures like Igor declaring that he wished 'to shatter a spear on the borders of the land of the Pólovtsy (with his Russians); and he wished to lay down his head and to drink of the Don in his helmet' (lines 53–58: **xošu bo —reče— kopie prilomiti konetsĭ polya Polovetsĭkogo sŭ vami, Rúsitsi; xošu glavu svoyu priložiti, á lyubo ispiti šelomomĭ Donu!**), are indeed vivid pictures of the warriors as they are actually seen.

Igor exhorts his comrades in this strain:

'Brothers and *Druzhina*! Better is it to be hewn to pieces than to be captive! So let us mount, brothers, on our swift steeds and look upon the blue Don' (lines 43–48) :

bratie i drúžino !
lutse žŭ by potyátu byti
neže polonenu byti !
a vsyademŭ, bratie,
na svoi brŭzyya komoni
da pozrimŭ sinego Donu.

* * * *

I quote at random a few more passages which are full of verisimilitude to actual life.

'The horses neigh beyond the Sulá, the glory echoes at Kíev, the trumpets blare at Nóvgorod, the banners stand fast at Putívl' (lines 75–78) :

komoni ržutĭ za Sulóyu ;
zvenitĭ slava vŭ Kyevě ;
truby trubyatĭ vŭ Nově′gradě,
stoyatĭ styazi vŭ Putivlě.

* * * *

'My men of Kur′sk are experienced fighters, nursed amidst trumpets, rocked in helmets, fed at the spear-blades; well known to them are the paths; familiar to them are the ravines; their saddle-bows are strung; their quivers are open; and their sabres are whetted. They themselves gallop like grey wolves in the field, seeking honour for themselves and for their prince glory' (lines 87–99) :

A moi ti Kúryani svědomi kŭmeti ;
podŭ trubami poviti,
podŭ šelomy vŭzdělě′yani,
konétsĭ kopiyá vŭskŭ′rmleni,
puti imŭ vědomi ;
yarúǵy imŭ znaemi ;
lutsi u nixŭ napryáženi ;
tuli otvoreni ;
sabli izŭostreni.
sami skačyutĭ aky
sěryi vlŭtsi vŭ′ pole ;
išuči sebě čti,
a knyazyu slavě.

* * * *

'The sons of Russia have barred the broad fields with their crimson shields, seeking for themselves honour, for their prince renown' (lines 132–135) :

Rusiči velikaya polyá
čr̆lenymi ščity preǵorodíša,
išuči sebě čti,
a knyazyu slavy.

* * * *

'From the dawning on Friday they trampled on the heathen hosts of the Pólovtsy and scattered themselves like arrows over the field. They seized the fair maidens of the Pólovtsy, and with them gold and clothes and costly samite. With the mantles and cloaks and coats they set about bridging over the myre and greasy places, with all the various patterned raiments of the Pólovtsy' (lines 136–145) :

sŭ zaraniya vŭ pyatŭkŭ potoptáša
poǵanyya polky Polovetsĭkyya ;
i rassušasĭ strělami pó polyu.

pomčaša krasnyya děvky Polovetskyya,
a sŭ nimi zlato i pávoloky,
i dragyya oksámity.
orŭtmámi i yapončitsami i kóžuxy
načaša mosty mostiti
po bolotomŭ i gryazivymŭ městomŭ
i vsyakymi uzoročĭi Polovetskymi.

* * * *

'Oh fierce bull Vsévolod (compare **puṅ-gavaḥ** in Sanskrit epic literature, meaning 'a man who is like a bull', as an epithet used for heroes), thou standest in the struggle, dartest with thy arrows on the hosts, crashest with steel swords on their helmets. Where thou, the bull, didst leap forward, gleaming with thy golden helmet, there the heathen Polovétski heads lie, [and] their Avar helms are split by tempered sabres, by thee, fierce bull Vsévolod: who repined at the wounds of the enemy, and forgot his honour and his life, and the city of Černígov, his father's golden throne, and the wonts and the ways of his dear love, the fair Glebovna!' (lines 190–208):

yarŭ-ture Vsévolode!
stoiši na bóroni,
pryščeši na voi strelami,
gremleši o šélomy
meči xaralužnymi.
kamo turŭ poskočaše,
svoimŭ zlatymŭ šelomomŭ posvě'čivaya,
tamo ležatĭ poganyya
gólovy Polovetskyya ;
poskepani sablyami kalenymi
šélomy Ovarĭskyya
ótŭ tebe, yarŭ-ture Vsévolode ;
kaya rany voróia, bratie,
zabyvŭ čti i života,
i grada Černígova,
otnyá zlata stóla,
i svoya milyya xoti
krasnyya Glěbovny
svyčaya i obyčaya!

* * * *

'From early noon until the evening, from the evening until the daylight, tempered arrows fly, the sabres thunder about the helmets, the lances crack in the foreign country, amid the land of the Pólovtsy. The black earth beneath the hooves was sown with bones, and was watered with blood; on Russian soil these sprang up as grief' (lines 250–262):

sŭ zarania do večera
sŭ večera dó světa,
letyatĭ strely kalenyya ;
gremlyutĭ sabli o šelomy,
treščatĭ kopia xaralužnyya
vŭ polě neznaemě
sredí zemlí Polovetskyi.

černá zemlyá podŭ kópyty,
kostĭmi bylá posě′yana,
a kroviyu polĭ′yana ;
tugoyu vzydoša
po Ruskoi zemlí.

* * * *

'Thou brave Rúrik and David, do they not swim in blood with your golden helms? Do not your brave *Druzhina* gallop like bulls wounded by tempered sabres in the unexplored land?' (lines 465–470):

ty bui-Ryúriče, i Dávyde!
ne vayu li zlačennymi šélomy
po krovi plavaša ?
ne vayu li xrabraya družina
ryskayutĭ aki turi
raneni sablyami kalenymi na polě neznaemě ?

* * * *

The impetuosity of battle which is so characteristic of the heroic age is there, plentifully for the size of the poem, in the *Slovo*. Here and there are little idyllic vignettes which recall the earlier poetry of the Indo-European peoples.

'Stepped like a maiden on the land of Troyán, splashed with her swan-wings in the blue sea' (lines 290–293):

vstupila děvoyu
na zémlyu Tróyanyu ;
vŭspleskala lebedinymi
kryly sinemĭ morě.

* * * *

'Thus the fair maidens of the Goths sang on the shore of the blue sea, tinkling in Russian gold' (lines 407–409):

se bo Gotĭskyya krasnyya děvy
vŭspěša na brezě sinemu moryu,
zvonya Ruskymŭ zlatomŭ.

* * * *

'Alone he let fall his pearl-white soul from his brave body out through his armour at his throat' (lines 551–554):

edinŭ že izroni
žemčyužnu dušu
izŭ xrabra těla
črezŭ laty o žerelě.

* * * *

Yaroslávna ‘ means early like a cuckoo in the unknown land’ (line 623):

zegzitseyu neznaemŭ rano kyčetĭ.

* * * *

‘Ígór the Prince raced like an ermine to the brush-wood, like a white duck to the water’ (lines 681–683):

Ígórĭ knyazĭ poskoči
gornostaemŭ kŭ trostiyu,
i bělymŭ gogolemŭ ná vodu.

* * * *

‘Ígoŕ said:—“Oh Donéts! Not mean is thy greatness, thou who swayest the Prince on thy waves, and has spread out for him [a bed of] green grass by thy silvery banks, clothing him with warm mists beneath the shade of the green tree; thou hast guarded him with a duck on the water, with gulls on the billows, with mallards on the winds” ’ (lines 698–707):

Igórĭ reče : O Dónče,
ne malo ti veličiya,
lelěyavšu knyazya ná volnaxŭ
stlavšu emu zelenu travu,
na svoixŭ srebryanyxŭ brezěxŭ ;
oděvávšŭ ego teplymi mĭ′ǵlami
podŭ sěniyu zelená drevu.
strežaše e gogolemŭ ná vodě,
čaitsami ná struyaxŭ,
črĭnyadĭmi ná větrěxŭ.

* * * *

‘Then the crows did not croak, the jackdaws were still, the magpies did not chirp; they crept in the boughs. Only the woodpeckers by their pecking show the road to the river; the nightingales with their merry song announce the dawn’ (lines 722–729):

toǵda vrani ne grayaxutĭ,
ǵalitsi pomolkoša,
soroki ne troskotaša ;
pó loziyu polzoša ;
tolĭko dyatlove tektomŭ
putĭ kŭ rětsě kážutĭ ;
solovii veselymi pěsnĭmi
světŭ povědayutŭ.

* * * *

‘ ‘The sun shines in the heavens. Ígoŕ the prince is in the Russian land. The maidens sing on the Danube; their voices mingle across the waters to Kíev’ (lines 754–757):

solntse světitsya na nebesě ;
Igorĭ knyazĭ vŭ Russkoĭ zemlí.
děvitsi poyutĭ na Dúnai ;
vĭ′yutsya ǵolosĭ črésŭ more do Kíeva.

* * * *

Being a poem dealing with the heroic deeds of warriors, *glimpses of family life* do not find a place in it. But we are thankful for a little picture of family life—of the place of the wife in the Old Russian (and Slav) household—from a little passage like the following:

'The women of Russia wailed, saying :—" Henceforth can we no longer think with our thoughts of our dear loves nor with our counsel counsel them, nor see them with our eyes nor amass gold nor silver, nay far from it?"' (lines 313–319):

ženy Ruskyya vŭsplakašasĭ, arkuči :
' uže namŭ svoixŭ milyxŭ
ladŭ ni mysliyu smysliti ;
ni dumoyu sdumati
ni óčima sŭǵlyadati ;
a zlata i srebra,
ni malo toǵo, potrepati.'

* * * *

There is no prominent Christian atmosphere in this poem, whereas traces of the pre-Christian mythology and religion are quite common. The intensity of faith, which is no less a characteristic of pre-Christian religion than of the Christian, is also found here and there. The presence of the Supreme Spirit was something which was intensely felt by the pre-Christian religion; hence the *Slovo* can say in a matter-of-course manner that it was God who manifested the road to Prince Igor from the Polovsk land to the Russian land, to his father's golden throne, all in the midst of the darkness, when the sea spurted at midnight, and the water-spouts passed like mists (lines 663–668):

pry′snu more polúnošči,
ídutĭ smortsi mĭ′ǵlami :
Ígorevi knyazyu Boǵŭ putĭ kažotĭ
izŭ zemlí Polovetskoi
na zémlyu Ruskuyu,
kŭ otnyu zlatu stolu.

* * * *

As words of the wise seer and poet Boyán (like those of an Indo-Aryan *rishi* or Old Irish *filid*), the *Slovo* quotes this old saying as a bit of primeval wisdom and faith :

'Neither the crafty man nor the experienced, nor a bird, nor a minstrel can escape God's judgments' (lines 608–610):

ni xytru, ni ǵorazdu,
ni ptišo ni iúdĭtsyu
čuda Božiya ne mínuti.

* * * *

The robust optimism of the heroic age finds expression in a passage like the following, which can also be taken to typify the optimism of a successful and a buoyant modern people, which feels that it is winning the race :

'We will by ourselves prove our courage; 'we will seize the glory to come, and divide that of the past among ourselves' (lines 438–440):

mužaimŭsya sami :
prednyuyu slavu poxytimŭ :
a zadnyuyu sya sami podělimŭ.

* * * *

We may close this rather superficial study of the *Slovo* as the most remarkable remnant of Russian and Slav heroic age, showing unquestionable Indo-European survivals, with the above ideal which is expressive of the aspirations of a man cast in a heroic frame of mind, who is to be found among all peoples in all ages and all climes—a man who relies upon his own efforts and who not only takes his stand on the great things left by his forbears in the past but also carves out a newer and a greater glory for himself in the future.

* * * *

A final observation about the character of the poem will not be out of place. Any one who has read this little work with care as an artistic creation will admit that whoever the writer or compiler was, he was a man of genius, who knew how to transpose a contemporary event of heroism and adventure and simple affection between man and wife into a more spacious heroic age, where the commonplace is transmuted into something of permanent value, bringing joy and pleasure and a high ideology at the same time, satisfying and nourishing both the intellect and the aesthetic sense. Unquestionably, the *Slovo* is one of the great little masterpieces of poetry in world literature, bringing to us a whiff of fresh air from the past world of ancient Slavdom which has its significance for the modern world also. We are grateful to him for having preserved for us some fragments of the Old Slav and even Indo-European heroic world.

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In memory of V. S. Vorobyev-Desyatovsky

EPIGRAPHIC DOCUMENT OF THE MAURYAS FROM BENGAL

By G. M. Bongard-Levin

(Communicated by Mr. Ashraf Arhmedzianov)

On November the 30th, 1931, a piece of limestone with seven lines of Brāhmī letters on it was discovered during archaeological excavations at Mahāsthān. The inscription drew the attention of several well-known linguists.[1]

D. R. Bhandarkar noted the importance of the finding and supposed that it was a real document of the Maurya epoch.[2] In 1934 B. M. Barua came forward with his interpretation of the document. Since then a quarter of a century has passed. In course of this time there has been gathered a certain amount of materials which allow a new approach to the reading and interpretation of the inscription. Let us examine the text:

I—(a)nena [3] Savagiyānaṃ [4] (tala da) na(sa ?) [5]
dumaṃ dina [6] (Mahā =)
II—māte [7] | sulakhite [8] Puḍanagalate | etaṃ [9]
III—(ni)vahipayisati | Savagiyānaṃ (ca di)ne [10]
IV—dhāniyaṃ | nivahisati | Dagatiyāy(i)ke [11] pi d(evā) =
V—(tiyā)(yi)kasi [12] suatiyāyika(si) pi | gaṃda(kehi)

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[1] D. R. Bhandarkar. Mauryan Brāhmī inscription of Mahāsthān, *Epigraphia Indica*, 1933, Vol. XXI, Part II, pp. 83–91; by the same author, Important fragmentary inscription found at Mahāsthān, *Indian Antiquary*, September 1933, Vol. LXII, pp. 177-178; by the same author, Note on a Mauryan inscription from Mahāsthān (the ancient Pauṇḍravardhana), *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, New series, 1932, Vol. XXVIII, No. I, pp. 123–126; B. M. Barua. The old Brāhmī Inscription of Mahāsthān, *The Indian Historical Quarterly*, 1943, Vol. X, No. I, pp. 57–66; C. C. Das Gupta. Palaeographical notes on the Mauryan Brāhmī inscription of Mahāsthān, *Indian Culture*, July 1936, Vol. III, No. I, pp. 206-207; D. C. Sircar. Mahāsthān fragmentary stone plaque inscription, *Select Inscriptions bearing on Indian History and Civilization*, Vol. I, Calcutta, 1942, pp. 82-83.

[2] *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, January 1933, Vol. XXVII.

[3] Bhandarkar and Sirkar give NENA. Bhandarkar considers that this is a part of word VACANENA or ŚĀSANENA. Here and onward the references made to Bhandarkar are according to *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXI.

[4] Bhandarkar suggests the following reading: SA(ṃ)VA(ṃ)gīy(Ā)naṃ (Skt. saṃvargīyānāṃ).

[5] Bhandarkar reads GALADANASA (Skt. GALĀRDANASYA), considering this word as name of the chief of the union of the Vangas to whom, in his opinion, the order (ŚĀSANA) was addressed. Barua gives tela-dInASA, where TELA-oil, oily liquid. Sirkar proposes the reading tela dAnA SASApA dInA, deriving from the latter Skt. SARṢAPAṂ CA DATTAṂ. Unfortunately this part of the inscription preserved badly, and it is difficult to decide whether it was DU or SA. DANASA (DATIV) for distribution.

[6] Bhandarkar reads both words as one DUMADINA, connecting it with the subsequent MAHĀMĀTE.

[7] Barua reads SUMĀTE (from SUMA).

[8] Bhandarkar understands this word as an attribute of Puṇḍranagara, Barua—as a geographical denomination (Skt. sulakṣmī).

[9] Bhandarkar is of opinion that ETAṂ is related to ŠĀSANA.

[10] After this word, Bhandarkar adds tathā.

[11] Bhandarkar—DA(M)g(Ā)TIYĀY(I)K(E).

[12] Barua suggests the reading: A(gitiyā)yikasi.

VI—(dhāni)(yị)kehi [13] eṣa kothāgāle kosaṃ [14] (bhara) (?)
VII—(?) (ṇīye)

Interpretation of separate terms and words is of first rate importance for understanding the contents of the inscription.

Thus Dr. Bhandarkar read in the first line: sa(ṃ)vagīy(ā)naṃ which corresponds in his opinion to Sanskrit saṃ+VargīyānAṃ—of the class-fellows, or the clansmen. Bhandarkar proposed to put another anusvara after VA and to read this word as SAṂVAṂGĪYĀNAṂ—of the SAṂVAṂGĪYA (tribe). He considered the last word to be the name of a union of different clans VAṄGA, similarly as the union of Vajjī clans was sometimes called Saṃvajjī.

Correct interpretation of the above-mentioned word has a great significance as the understanding of the inscription as a whole depends on elucidation of the status of savagyias. On the basis of Pāli Sutra (ÇABBHINĪ SUTTA) and the date of 'Vinaya Piṭaka' about Chabbaggiyas, Barua came to the conclusion that the Savagiyas mentioned in the inscription were members of a Buddhist sect ṢAḌVARGYA or Ṣaḍvargika (Pali Chabbagiya and chavaggiya). Many ancient Indian sources note that one of the duties of kings was the care of "men of religion". Several Pāli sources testify to the existence of Chabbaggiyas. This, however, does not give grounds for identifying Savagiyas of Mahāsthān inscription with Chabbaggiyas of the Pāli sūtras. The word Varga is used to mean not only a religious group but it has also a wider meaning—a part, group in general, class, society, and so on. Let us note that in the Asokan inscriptions (Special Edict No. I of Dhauli and Jaugaḍa, which are not far from the place where this inscription was discovered) Sanskrit VARGA is used in the form Vage in the meaning of class, section of the population. Vaggiyo means one belonging to a definite group. Chabbaggiyo (ṣaḍvargikas), therefore, means "consisting of six parts, groups, individuals".

Acknowledging the possibility that Pkt. Savagiyas may correspond to Pali Chabbaggiyas, I am not inclined, however, to think that in this inscription they have in view just the same bhikkhus, of whom the Pāli source "Vinaya Piṭaka" informs us. Barua leaves it unexplained why the compiler of this epigraphic document was interested in "the position of chabbagiyas" —members of a sect of Bhikkhus ("members of holy order"); why the Mahāmātra had to look after only this sect and to help it in case of calamities. We do not know any occasion when Chandragupta and Bindusara patronized Buddhism and looked after the members of its sects. Only under Aśoka Buddhism became an object of care on the part of the state. However Aśoka was not opposed to other religions and sects.

Ancient epigraphic sources, discovered in East Bengal, and several other monuments give grounds to suppose that this region was a field where Jainism spread.

The question whether some interpretation or other of this text is sound or not should be examined not only in the light of philological regularity but also on the basis of historical material. Moreover, the main difference in the points of view of Barua and Bhandarkar is not in the reading of the word but in the interpretation of the term. The inscription which is under consideration speaks of Mahāmātras of Puṇḍranagara—(town of the Puṇḍras) capital at the Puṇḍra country (Puṇḍravardhana).

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[13] The inscription in this part is very fragmentary. Barua suggests the following reading: (KĀKAṆI)YIKEHI.

[14] Further on Bhandarkar gives BHARAṆĪYE, Sircar (SK)-CA PARIPURAṆĪYAṂ.

If we agree with Bhandarkar that the Savagiyas (he read Saṃvaṃgīyas) were inhabitants of Vaṅga then Puṇḍranagara should have been the capital of the country of Vaṅga or capital of a confederation of some Vaṅga tribes. Bhandarkar supposed, proceeding from his own explanation of the inscription, that the Puṇḍras belonged to the confederation of Vaṅga tribes—Saṃvaṃgīyas. Meanwhile, the ancient sources speak of Vaṅga and Puṇḍra as two different countries.[15] By the word Vaṅga we usually understand eastern parts of Modern Bengal, and by Puṇḍra—the northern. We find similar distinction in the "Purāṇas", the "Rāmayāna", the "Mahābhārata", the "Dharmasūtra", the "Arthaśāstra" and in several other sources. Thus, the informations of the ancient Indian sources about Vaṅga and Puṇḍra as independent divisions of Bengal do not tally with the interpretation of Bhandarkar. It seems correct to me to take the word Savagiyas not as meaning confederation of Vaṅga tribes (Bhandarkar) or members of the holy order (sect of Bhikkhus) Chabbaggiyas (Barua) but as *Participium futuri passivi* of the Sanskrit verb *vṛj* with the prefix *saṃ*. The verb *vṛj* (7th class) with prefix *saṃ* means appropriate, plunder, devour, to be subjected to action (of fire, time), suffer, destroy, sweep, seize, snatch, etc. We know also such formation as saṃvarga, meaning devouring, consumption, absorption, etc.

Hence the translation: "They who are destined to suffer" or "They who are destined to be subjected to action . . ." conforms well to the contents of the inscription, which tells about the action of water (flood), fire (as Barua reads) and famine. In favour of this translation speak the materials of edicts of Aśoka, which are synchronous with our inscription, and are written in Prakrits. In the edicts of Nandangarh, Rampurva and Araradj, discovered near Mahāsthān, we find the future passive participle form dakhiye (dat.) and dekhie. Consequently, the appearance of *iya* instead of the usual suffix of the future passive participle *ya* is fully possible.

In the end of the first line and in the beginning of the second Bhandarkar reads e(ta)ṃ (ni)vahipayisati and connects this word with the verb nis+vah (vahati) (in the causative the meaning is "to fulfil", "to execute"). Therefore he translates "The Mahāmātra from the town of Puṇḍranagara which promises happiness, compels to fulfil it". Barua who read in the first line not mahāmāte but sumāte (a geographical name) considered that this order was given to some person who was to look after the delivery of oil and tree to Ṣaḍvargikas (Chabbaggiyas). The verb nivahipayisati mentioned in the inscription was translated by Barua as "to convey"| Skt. ni+vah (vahati) |.

Bhandarkar takes sulakhite as definition of the next word; however, in form sulakhite may also be a noun or a singular nominative participle and may refer to mahāmāte. Sulakhite (su+lakhite) may correspond also to Skt. rakṣitar and mean "protector", "patron", "manager", "inspector". Hence the translation: "the officer—the good-quality inspector (manager) from Puṇḍranagara will execute it".

It is important to elucidate also the meaning of the word atiyāyika which is met in the 4th, 5th and 6th lines of the inscription. Atiyāyika is used in the inscription as the second part of the compound (tatpuruṣa-type). Atiyāyika (Skt. ātyāyika) is again found in the "Arthaśāstra" (in the meaning of "Calamity"—ātyayike kārye) as well as in the Prakrit inscription of Sohgaurā and in two versions of the Rock Edict VI of Aśoka.

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[15] See B. C. Law, The Puṇḍras of Ancient Bengal, *Journal of Indian History*, 1933, Vol. XII, Part III, pp. 349–353; of the same author, The Vaṅgas, *Indian Culture*, 1934-1935, Vol. I, pp. 57–63.

Barua rightly considers daga-atiyāyika as Udakātiyāyika—calamity connected with water-flood, it tallies with the contents of the inscription and the materials of Arthaśāstra. Let us note that Puṇḍranagara was situated on a river. We cannot agree with Bhandarkar that Daga should be read as daṃga, a town, inhabited by savagiyas (he read saṃvaṃgīyas) (perhaps Puṇḍranagara itself), as in the inscription different cases of atiyāyika are enumerated, against which storehouses should be built and filled.

Reading as devātiyāyika (Skt. daiva-ātyāyika), Bhandarkar rightly supposed that as in the inscription they talk about storing grains in case of calamity, therefore the calamity, coming from Gods (sent by Gods), is nothing but famine.

The interpretation of the third word-building (su-atiyāyika) presents the greatest difficulty. Bhandarkar suggested to consider it (distinguishing it from the first two) as su+atiyāyika. In his opinion in case of improvement of the condition the inhabitants of Puṇḍranagara and of its neighbouring places were to bring corn and money back to the storehouses. However, such an explanation is little convincing. Su-atiyātika can hardly mean "excess of plenty" as Bhandarkar supposes. As sources testify to, Atiyāyika was usually used to characterize an unprecedented extreme emergency, an occasion, connected with calamity. It also signified requirement of immediate help, urgency, extreme necessity. It is difficult to suppose that the inhabitants of Puṇḍranagara and its neighbouring places, moreover the members of the holy order, sect of Bhikkhus (if we follow Barua's interpretation), could give back the food products which they had taken. Bhandarkar's explanation does not conform with the character of the document, as in the inscription the word atiyāyika has been repeated thrice, after which stands the conjunction pi (api—also). We have no reasons to oppose the first two atiyāyikas to the third. Barua concludes from suatiyāyika-suva atiyāyika (Skt. śukātiyāyika)—calamity arising from the action of parrots (?). Theoretically the transition from su into śuka is fully permissible, but it hardly occurred in the given inscription. It can be confirmed by the use of the word parrot in the 5th Pillar Inscription of Aśoka not in the form su-sua-suva, but in the form suke (Pali Suko). The language of the Mahāsthān inscription is closer to the Pillar Edicts of Aśoka, and along with that the form suke, testified in the inscriptions discovered near Mahāsthān. All these are not in favour of what Barua supposed. I cannot accept the suggestion of Barua to take su-atiyāyika as ṣaḍātyāyika or ṣaḍ-ītayaḥ (i.e. six traditional causes of scarcity of food).

If we accept Bhandarkar's point of view as correct and take su-atiyāyika as "excess of plenty", we have to connect this word not with the previous atiyāyika but with the following text of the inscription. Let it be noted that the word su-atiyāyika is closely connected with the previous text (all the three atiyāyikas are in the locative), at the same time it is separated from it by a daṇḍa. It is apparent that su-atiyāyika, besides the general meaning of the word atiyāyika (after it stands the conjunction (pi), which connects the word with the previous atiyāyikas), has its own special meaning which allowed the author of the document to distinguish it. It is doubtless that its first part su gives the word its distinctive character.

I consider that in the inscription Pkt. su corresponds not to sua-suva-śuka or ṣaḍ (as Barua says) but to Skt. svid (svit). The correctness of the conclusion can be ascertained from the philological material of Aśokan Edicts. In the first Special Edict of Aśoka at Dhauli and Jaugaḍa su is met in combination with munisānaṃ (gen. pl.). Already in 1914 H. Lüders showed the possibility of correspondence of su to Skt. svit and translated the above-mentioned sentence as "all the people".[16] This interpretation was supported by Hultzsch, Bloch and by other scholars. In general the regular interpretation of su as "good" is not appropriate for the present document.

Thus, we can affirm that the inscription tells that grain (paddy) and money must be reserved for the occasion of flood, famine and other calamities. It is possible also that su corresponds to Skt. sva, (one's own). Therefore su-atiyāyika (Skt. svātyāyika), used in the inscription along with other atiyāyikas, could mean an extreme occasion, caused by men themselves, and requirement of immediate help in case of personal calamities and failure. This interpretation as su-svit is in harmony with the contents of the inscription and explains the peculiarity of that term.[17]

After the word dhāniyaṃ there is a daṇḍa in the inscription from the previous text. However, both Bhandarkar and Barua connected nivahisati with Savagiyānaṃ ca dine dhāniyaṃ, translating all that as one clause. Bhandarkar translates thus: "(and in the same way) rice was granted to saṃvaṃgīyas", and Barua as "(he) shall convey also the paddy given to ṣaḍvargikas". The presence of daṇḍa in the text before and after the word nivahisati allows us to consider it as an independent part of the inscription. The verb vah with the prefix nis may mean: "to save from", "be successful", "to overcome the obstacles". Hence the translation—"(it) will save (them)" or "(it) will help (them)" to overcome difficulties. Taking out savagiyānaṃ ca dine dhāniyaṃ as a separate clause is regular, as a passage close to its meaning is found in the first line of the inscription. The conjunction can emphasize the relation of the given sentence with the previous text: "And grain (paddy) should be given to those who are destined to suffer. (And it) saves (them)".

Basing on the consideration and remarks made above I allow myself to give my own variant of the translation of the inscription as a whole:

"Thereby (by this decree), the sesame and firewood (or timber) shall be available for distribution among the victims. The official-manager from Puṇḍranagara shall see to that. And (this) will save (them). This granary and treasury shall be filled up with grain and coins gaṇḍaka to provide for the case of flood, famine and all other calamities."

The significance of the above inscription increases in connection with Cunningham's identification of Puṇḍranagara (mentioned in the inscription) with Mahāsthān (place of discovery).[18] It is significant that Cunningham expressed this idea 50 years before the discovery of the above inscription on the basis of a diary of Hiuen Tsang and the materials of archaeological excavations. K. Dikshit who carried out the excavations of Mahāsthān came to the same conclusion. The discovery of the Prakrit inscription from Mahāsthān confirms that the suppositions of Cunningham[19] and Dikshit[20] were correct and it added to our knowledge of the ancient history of the province, now called Bengal. We can consider that the fact that Bengal was a part of the Maurya Empire has been finally established.

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[16] H. Lüders. "Sitzungsberichte der königlich PREUSSISCHEN AKADEMIE DER WISSENCHAFTEN", 1914, S. 856.

[17] In Aśoka's inscriptions we meet with for instance: SUAGE (SK. SVARGA). SUVAMIKENA side by side with SVAMIKENA.

[18] See-*Archaeological Survey of India*, Reports, Vol. XV.

[19] Bhandarkar (p. 88) brings forward several convincing facts, mainly from the works of X–XII centuries, which prove the correctness of such identification.

[20] K. N. Dikshit. Excavations in Bengal. Annual report of the Archaeological Survey of India, 1928-1929. Delhi, 1933, p. 97. (Translated from the journal, *Sovietskoye Vostokovedenie*, 1958, N3).

The Mahāsthān inscription adds to our knowledge also of the system of government during the Mauryas. However, this should be an object of special studies.

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ORGANIZATION OF SERVICES IN THE TEMPLE OF LIṄGARĀJ IN BHUBANESWAR

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INTRODUCTION

The temple of Liṅgarāj in Bhubaneswar, Orissa, was built approximately in the middle of the eleventh century A.D. It consists of four compartments, one in front of the other. The cella is square and lies at the western end and is surmounted by a towering temple which has become famous on account of its architectural perfection. The hall in front is square in ground-plan like the cella, but is of larger dimension. The two are separated from one another by a few shallow steps. Pilgrims stand in this second and have a sight, darśan, of the deity from a distance. A large, round wooden beam set in a frame and called the Transverse Wood or Beam, Āṛakāṭha,* prevents pilgrims from entering the cella; but at certain periods in the day, when the deity grants audience, the beam is slided out and then pilgrims enter the cella and walk round the image of the deity in adoration. The latter is an uneven piece of rock with a circular border. It represents the phallic symbol of Siva known as Liṅgarāj or the Great Liṅga. To the east of the Hall of Audience, there is another hall, rectangular in ground-plan, known as the Temple of Dances, Nāṭa Mandir. Beyond this, in the same line, is the square compartment known as the Hall of Offerings, Bhoga Maṇḍapa. Besides this unified group of four buildings forming the temple of Liṅgarāj, there are many more temples built at different times, and by different peoples, within the walled compound of the main temple. One of these lying to the north-west of Liṅgarāj is dedicated to his consort Pārvatī. The other shrines are either dedicated to Siva or various forms of Śakti, or to attendant gods and goddesses, one being the temple of Siva's divine vehicle, the Bull, Nandī. Those interested in the layout of the temples may consult Percy Brown's *Indian Architecture* (*Buddhist and Hindu Periods*), 1942, p. 122, Plate LXXIV.

It is our purpose in the present paper to describe the organization of services in the temple of Liṅgarāj itself. We shall, first of all, try to describe the daily services in the temple and then various annual services. A description of the various castes or lineages responsible for specific services will then be given. This will be followed by a chapter on the system of distribution of services and the nature of emoluments received by them. The social status of some of the groups serving in the temple will then be taken up for consideration. There have been, in the past, differences of opinion about their status, and references were made several times during the last hundred and fifty years to political authorities for a decision. This will form the subject-matter of the next chapter.

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* When a term is used for the first time, it is interspaced for ready reference.

I

DAILY SERVICE

The Day Begins:

The door of the temple is opened in the morning, nowadays about 6 a.m., and the officer entitled Custodian, Phāraka, now comes with the key. It might be noted that the Custodian belongs to the Baṛu-Sudra caste. The Pāliā Baṛu stands there as witness, along with a representative of the panchayat, which is called pañcuāti in Oriya. The Baṛu is not the same for every day, each has his own turn, and the man whose duty it is to serve on a particular day stands beside the Custodian as witness. The term pāliā in Oriya means 'one whose turn it is (to serve)'; therefore this Baṛu will henceforth be referred to as Pāliā Baṛu.

Before the door is unlocked, the Pāliā Baṛu carries a vessel full of water and goes round the temple compound sprinkling water in worship on all the phallic images of Siva in shrines surrounding the temple of Liṅgarāj. At about 6-30 a.m., the door of the main temple is unlocked by the Custodian. A servant entitled Akhaṇḍa now lights the lamp in the cella, for it is always dark within. This is in order to awaken Siva from his sleep; the particular act of service being known as 'Breaking Sleep', pahaṛa bhāṅgibā. Half an hour later, i.e. about 7 a.m., the Pāliā Baṛu fetches two vessels of water for the ablution of the deity. Three Brahman servants entitled Carcita, Paṇḍā and Patri have now to perform certain duties. Incense is lighted and ārati is performed. In it, either lighted lamps or various objects like coco-nuts are waved with a circular motion in front of the object of worship. This is an act of adoration. When the ārati is over, the Pāliā Baṛu begins to brush the teeth of the deity by means of a twig which has already been brought in. All that he does is to make a movement of brushing in front of Liṅgarāj, after which water is poured for rinsing the mouth. Flowers used for decoration on the previous night are now removed from the image. Liṅgarāj is now bathed and fresh flowers, along with leaves of the bael or wood-apple (*Aegle marmelos*), are placed in decoration on the stone. This tree is supposed to be particularly sacred to Siva as the tulasī (*Ocimum sanctum*) is to Vishnu. While bathing Liṅgarāj, the Pāliā Baṛu announces that this is being done in the name of the Raja of Puri. It is said that, some years ago, when the first ablution took place in the morning, the names of Yayati Kesari and Lalatendu Kesari used to be similarly announced, as they are traditionally supposed to have been the builders of the temple of Liṅgarāj. The circular stone ring round the phallic image, supposed to represent Śakti, is also bathed.

Giving Audience, Sāhāna Melā:

From 7-30 to 12 noon, the cella is thrown open to pilgrims when the deity is supposed to give audience. Sāhāna means *the great* and melā is *meeting*. The Transverse Beam separating the cella from the Hall of Audience is removed, and pilgrims enter the former in order to go round the object of worship as a mark of reverence.

Purification:

The temple is closed at about 12 and remains so until about 3-15 in the afternoon. The first act of worship at about 12 when the door is closed is a purificatory ceremony known as māghasnāna. The Pāliā Baṛu fills a vessel with water and bathes the deity with it. The Paṇḍā Brahman prepares a mixture of milk, curdled milk, clarified butter, honey and coarse brown sugar, collectively known as the 'Five Nectars', Pañcāmruta, and pours this upon the deity for purification. Evidently, it is imagined that the deity needs some purification after granting audience to pilgrims.

The Brahman servant entitled Cāngaṛā is now called by the Pāliā Baṛu for supplying clothes and ornaments necessary for decoration. With the help of these, the Pāliā Baṛu changes the dress of the deity, i.e. just covers over the rocky image with a piece of new cloth and lays a few ornaments upon it by way of decoration. Flowers and wood-apple leaves are also changed, and then the Pāliā Baṛu proceeds to wash the surroundings over which many bare and muddy feet have walked. At about 1 p.m., a banana is divided into two; one-half is offered to Surya, the Sun-god, and the other half to the deity guarding the doorway, this image being known as the Doorkeeper or Dwārapāla. Sweets are offered to each, along with half of a banana.

Breakfast, Vallabha or Bāla Bhoga:

Between 1-00 and 1-30 p.m., the food offering entitled vallabha is presented before the deity. This is supposed to be his first meal for the day. Not very long ago, this offering was made in the morning. But nowadays, there has been considerable dislocation, until the breakfast has been shifted to early afternoon. The Pāliā Baṛu now summons the Brahman servant entitled Patri, whose duty is to arrange offerings for the deity.

The Baṛu first calls out loudly in the following terms, 'Whosoever may happen to be within, leave it at once.' The actual offering of food is made by a Brahman servant entitled Panti Baṛu. He has to receive the consent of the Sudra Pāliā Baṛu, and only then enters the cella with a bowl of curdled milk, curds and two plates of rice puffed in the husk, khai. The Panti Baṛu actually hands over the articles to the Paṇḍā Brahman, for the latter has the right of actually offering things to the deity.

After breakfast, the consecrated food is carried to the temple of Siva's consort, namely Pārvatī, and placed as an offering before her. This is in consonance with the practice of orthodox Hindu households where the wife eats off the plate left by her husband. The Pāliā Baṛu now cleans the floor where breakfast had been served; for otherwise pilgrims who come later on might tread upon the place, and to tread upon even a grain of consecrated food would amount to sacrilege.

The Morning Meal, Sakāla Dhūpa:

The second meal now follows, this being called the Morning's Offering of Food, sakāla dhūpa. Unfortunately, it takes place now at about 2 in the afternoon. The Carcita Brahman servant asks the Garā Baṛu, another Brahman servant, to make the following announcement, which he does in a loud voice:

Amruta Manohi Chekā
Tola He O Mahāsuāra!

'The whole of the nectar is ready and served in plates. O Cook of the Temple, get ready.'

During this ceremony, the following Brahman servants should all be present: Paṇḍā, Patri, Haṛapa Nāik, Bhitar Khuṇṭiā, Panti Baṛu, Garā Baṛu. Their functions are as follows.

The Panti Baṛu decorates the spot on the floor where offerings are placed later on. This is done with powdered rice, which is called muruja. The Bhitar Khuṇṭiā stands guard at the gate of the room near the statue of the Doorkeeper, Dwārapāla, with a golden stick in his hand. The Harapa Nāik places areca-nut and water near the decorated spot prepared for the offering. The Garā Baṛu places a wooden seat for the Paṇḍā to sit upon while performing the ceremony. He also supplies water and flowers as they are needed during the offering. The Patri supplies to the Paṇḍā the following articles collectively known as the Sixteen Items, soṛasa upacāra. These are: five vessels, five brass basins, five small dishes, a small quantity of rice along with a few blades of durbā grass (*Cynodon dactylon*), the five nectars on a dish (milk, curdled milk, clarified butter, honey and coarse brown sugar), a mirror, sandal-wood paste, incense, a lighted lamp, a piece of cloth and some ornaments.

When the above have been properly arranged, the Paṇḍā Brahman priest arrives and seats himself in order to conduct the ceremony. While the food is being offered, the following Sudra servants play on musical instruments; the Ghaṇṭuā beats the metal gong, the Kāhāliā and Teleṅgā play on horns and drums. Music continues until the ceremony is over. The Paṇḍā now offers the following items of food to the deity: (1) khecuri or a preparation of rice weighing 9 chataks or nearly a pound; (2) three sweetmeats called puli; (3) five pieces of a kind of cake called enduli; (4) some green leafy vegetables; (5) two pieces of another kind of sweetmeat called hamsakeli; (6) one piece of a sweet called kānti; (7) a quantity of a sweet called koṛamā.

When the food is being offered by the priest, Servants of the Black and White Umbrellas, Kalā Chatā, Dhalā Chatā, stand with the umbrellas open near the Transverse Beam separating the cella from the Hall of Audience.

After food has been thus offered to Liṅgarāj, some of the offering is carried to the temple of his consort Pārvatī for service to her. No separate food is cooked for her.

Ceremony of Waving, Ārati:

When the Morning Meal is thus over, there comes the Ceremony of Waving, ārati. The Brahman priest now stands in front of the deity and waves the offering or light with a rhythmic rotary motion. Four different objects are used for this purpose. A piece of camphor is first set alight and the movement performed. This is followed by lighting a lamp with seven wicks, which is similarly rotated. Clarified butter is used in the lamp as oil. Then comes another in which a cake of rice is held in the hand into which are inserted several small lighted sticks. This is known as piṭhau ārati. This is followed by patri ārati in which a small copper vessel filled with water is waved before the deity. Such a vessel is generally used by Brahmans while pouring water or libation to the manes in a śrāddha ceremony.

Another Meal, Satra Dhūpa or Chatra Dhūpa:

There is another offering of food at 3 p.m. This is variously known as satra or chatra dhūpa and bhoga manḍap or bhonḍa dhūpa. Half a seer of rice is cooked for this purpose and distributed in three and a half pots in front of Liṅgarāj. This food is later shared by the Paṇḍā and Patri Brahman servants and the Sudra Pāliā Baṛu in the following proportion: 1 : 1 : 1½ pots respectively.

It is during this ceremony that food offered by pilgrims is also presented before the deity. On special festive occasions, this may amount to several maunds of rice. The offering thus made is then taken away by priests and distributed among their respective clients.

Giving Audience, Sāhāna Melā :

The temple is now once more thrown open for about an hour, approximately from 3-15 to 4-15 p.m. The public once more enter the cella to pay respect to the image by walking round it. After an hour, the door is closed and a light refreshment served to the deity. This is known as vallabha dhūpa. The Paṇḍā, Patri, Garā Baṛu, all Brahmans, should be present at the time. The food consists of three pieces of a sweet cake called kākarā and another sweet called tripuri.

Midday Meal, Dwipahar Dhūpa :

Then follows the Midday Meal. Nowadays, this happens at about 5 p.m. The following things are offered : (1) about ¾ seer of cooked rice in a plate; (2) moong pulses (*Phaseolus*) weighing about 2 chataks or 4 ounces; (3) some vegetable curry about 2 chataks in weight; (4) sweet rice porridge in milk, khiri, in three small vessels; (5) nineteen pieces of a sweet made of rice-flour and coarse sugar called basanta; (6) three pieces of a sweet made from powdered biri pulse (*Phaseolus*), clarified butter and coarse sugar; (7) one piece of a cake made of powdered biri pulse with clarified butter and no salt, called kānti; (8) some curry prepared with banana, arum and brinjal; and, lastly, (9) a sweetmeat made of rice-flour and sugar called madhuruci.

After consecration, the 19 pieces of basanta are distributed among the following servants : Paṇḍā, Patri, Garā Baṛu, Haṛapa Nāik, Bhitar Khunṭiā, Kalā Chatā, Dhalā Chatā, Trāsa, Carcita, Pancuāti, Durgā Sevā, Phāraka, Rasoi Pāika and Kāhāliā. The balance of the offerings is distributed among officials who work in the Temple Management Office.

When the Midday Meal is over, the turn of Pārvatī comes. She is offered a piece of kānti, mentioned above, and a pot of sweetened rice porridge in milk or khiri. This is later given to the Sudra servant, Samarthā.

Siesta :

The door is closed after the meal until 7 in the evening. Liṅgarāj is supposed to retire now for his midday rest or siesta. At about 7 p.m., the door is thrown open once more in the presence of the Paṇḍā, Pāliā Baṛu, Pancuāti and Phāraka for the performance of the Evening Incense, sandhyā ārati.

The Evening Service :

After the performance of the waving of lights, etc., in the evening, a light meal called tera piṭhā is served to the deity. This consists of four pieces of cake made of puffed rice, khai. Later, these are given to the man who supplies firewood to the kitchen. The temple is once more opened till about 8 p.m. for pilgrims.

The door is afterwards closed, and it is time for another light meal called sāhāna dhūpa, when 7 small cups are served, with a kind of cake made of rice-flour, coarse sugar and clarified butter. This cake is called sodua. Along with it are also served 2 cups of boiled rice mixed with curdled milk with a little vegetable curry and sugar.

These are distributed later on in the following manner. The Paṇḍā, Phāraka, Abadhāna or Astrologer (Sudra), the Kāṭhawālā or Supplier of Fuel, each receives one cup of sodua. The Mahāsuāra or Brahman Cook receives the balance of 3 cups along with the rice mixed with curdled milk and curry. It should be noted here that the food offered to Liṅgarāj is carried a little while later on to the temple of his consort, Pārvatī, before being officially distributed.

After serving the meals, the Ceremony of Waving Lights is once more performed before the deity.

Preparation for Retirement:

Between 8-30 and 9 p.m. preparations are made for the last ceremony of the day, named the Great Decoration, Bara Śiṅgāra. Before a little food is offered, the floor is ornamented once more as in the case of the Morning Meal. The items of food which are offered now are as follows: (1) khara cura, a sweetmeat prepared from rice-flour, clarified butter and sugar; (2) two cups of sodua made from rice-flour, clarified butter and coarse sugar; (3) three pieces of kākarā, flat cakes made with rice-flour and coarse sugar; (4) nāri guṇḍa, a kind of round cake made with powdered biri pulses and sugar; (5) boiled rice mixed with curdled milk; and (6) a small quantity of vegetable curry and sugar.

The Brahman Cook, Mahāsuāra, receives the first four items as his share, while the balance is distributed among employees of the Temple Management. During this offering to Liṅgarāj, some consecrated rice with curdled milk is served to his consort, Pārvatī, this being given subsequently to the Mekāpa or Brahman Storekeeper.

Retirement:

The daily work of the temple ends with this service of food. Liṅgarāj is then supposed to retire for the night. A cot is laid in the room, incense lighted, drinking water is served near by and some prepared betel, pān, is placed on the cot. A few cloves are immersed in the drinking water in order to perfume it. Then the door of the temple is closed for the night in the presence of various servants of the temple, as in the case of unlocking in the morning.

II

ANNUAL CELEBRATIONS

We shall now present a very brief list of the celebrations held in various months of the year.

(1) Scorpio (Agrahāyana, November-December): (*a*) Prathamāṣṭamī, and (*b*) Orhaṇa or Covering, when Liṅgarāj is covered with warm winter cloth.

(2) Sagittarius (Pouṣ, December-January): Puṣyābhiṣek, Installation Ceremony. The deity is covered with royal accoutrement and ceremonially enthroned. It is said that, all over Orissa, it was usual for feudatory chiefs to be installed on their throne annually on this particular day.

(3) Capricornus (Māgh, January-February): (*a*) Ghrutakamala. On the last day of this month, known as Makara-saṁkrānti, an emulsion is prepared with 20 chataks of clarified butter and water. The rock, which is the representation of Liṅgarāj, is anointed with this. It is said that originally five seers of clarified butter were used for this purpose. (*b*) Māgha Saptami. On the seventh day of the bright half of this month, the brass image, which acts as the proxy of Liṅgarāj when the deity has to go from one place to another, and which is called Paśupālaka (= Paśupati), is carried in procession to pay a visit to the temple of Māghesvara or Siva, the Lord of the month of Māgha. On this occasion, three cups of sweet rice porridge in milk, khiri, is made ready. This is mixed with a small quantity of sesamum seeds.

(4) Aquarius (Phālgun, February-March): The great festival of Vigil in honour of Siva, Śivarātri, is observed in this month.

(5) Pisces (Caitra, March-April): (*a*) Aśokaṣṭamī or Car Festival. A huge wooden car, about 40 feet high, is built annually for the occasion. The Deputy of Liṅgarāj, i.e. the brass image, Paśupālaka, is seated in it and the car is drawn through the main street to a field near by. It is drawn back again after a number of days. The celebration lasts for five days altogether. (*b*) Rāma Navamī. The ninth day of the bright half is also celebrated, as Rama, the hero of Rāmāyaṇa, is supposed to have been born on this day.

(6) Aries (Vaiśākh, April-May): (*a*) Candan Yātrā. The Deputy is anointed with a paste of sandal-wood and carried in procession in a boat in the sacred tank of Vindusarovar. Water-sports are also held on the occasion. (*b*) Akṣaya Tritīyā. The third lunar day of the first half of the month is celebrated by offering oblations to departed ancestors.

(7) Taurus (Jaiṣṭha, May-June), Paraśurām Aṣṭamī: It is generally believed that from this day onwards, Liṅgarāj goes into a kind of retirement for four months. His Deputy pays a visit to the temple of Paraśurāmeswar in the north-east of the village and is supposed to hand over the administration of the world to the latter.

(8) Gemini (Āṣāṛha, June-July): The ceremony of Bhīma Ekādaśī is performed in this month.

(9) Cancer (Śrāvaṇa, July-August): The festival of Gamhā Pūrṇimā is held on the full moon of this month. Another festival named Sātapuri is also observed in this month. The Swing Festival or Jhulan Yātrā of Krishna is also observed in Śrāvaṇa.

(10) Leo (Bhādra, August-September): There is a ceremony called Paitā Āropaṇa or Wearing the Sacred Thread.

(11) Virgo (Āśvin, September-October): There is no festival in this month.

(12) Libra (Kārttik, October-November): (*a*) Yama Dutiā is celebrated in this month. It is customary for brothers to visit their sisters all over Orissa, when feasts are given by the latter and an auspicious mark is placed on the forehead of the brother by the sister with prayers for his long life. (*b*) Utthāpana Caturdaśī is the occasion when Liṅgarāj's sleep on retirement for four months is broken and he wakes up to take charge of the world once more.

In addition to the major festivals listed above, there are a few minor ones also, some of which are listed below:

(1) Every Monday, the Deputy of Liṅgarāj is carried in a palanquin all round the main temple. This is done in the paved courtyard.

(2) On the occasion of a festival called Breaking the Pot, Hāndi Bhangā, the Deputy is carried to a tank named Debi Pādaharā.

(3) A celebration takes place in the temple of Kapileswar, about a mile away from Liṅgarāj.

(4) The Deputy is carried to a tank named Gokundeswar and a ceremonial bath given to it on the eighth day of the month of Virgo, Āśvin.

(5) Dāmodara Beśa: During the entire month of Libra, Kārttik, a crown is placed on the image of Liṅgarāj when the Morning Meal, sakāla dhūpa, and the Evening Meal, sāhāna dhūpa, are served. Then Liṅgarāj is supposed to identify himself with Dāmodara or Vishnu.

III

SERVICES, SERVANTS AND THEIR CASTES

There are said to be thirty-two different kinds of services performed by various castes in the temple of Liṅgarāj. Of these, ten are performed by Brahmans and the rest by non-Brahmans, i.e. men belonging to various castes within the Sudra Order. In the present chapter, we shall describe the different services and employees or servants. Information was gathered by means of direct observation as well as by interviews.

1. Abadhāna, Astrologer, Sudra (?): It is his duty to consult the calendar and indicate the auspicious moment for performance of festivals in the temple. It is also his duty, by means of astrological calculation, to forecast the condition of the deity's health.

As Liṅgarāj is treated like a royal personage, an Astrologer* is employed for his service as in the case of a king. When the new year begins on the full moon of the month of Pisces (Caitra, March-April), the Astrologer has to read out a forecast of events in the coming year.

Members of the caste wear sacred thread like Brahmans, but are not considered to be their equals. They use Nāik or Nāyak as their surname. Some consider them to be Sudras.

During the Car Festival, the Astrologer has to play the gong in the car. The payment made to the Astrologer is 20 naṛu sweetmeats every month, each one of which costs about 3 annas. He enjoys rent-free homestead land, but no land on a service tenure is assigned for him.

Balkrushna Naik is the present Astrologer, and he claims that his family has been in service for the last 57 generations. However, he gave up service in the temple two years ago. The reason is that, of late, payment received from the temple has been found to be inadequate. The average income of Brahmans in the temple has substantially decreased. It is indeed true that more pilgrims come on a visit to the temple than before; but the performance of religious ceremonies prescribed for the pilgrimage is decidedly on the wane. Consequently, Brahmans attached to the temple, who used to thrive upon such trade, have become progressively impoverished. Formerly, they were the chief patrons of the Astrologer. With their decline in trade, the latter has also grown poorer; this being the reason why Balkrushna has given up his appointment in the temple.

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* When a function specifically belongs to a caste, the caste-name has been capitalized. Names of offices or officers are also in capitals.

2. Akhaṇḍa: The Akhaṇḍa is a Paṇḍā Brahman whose duty it is to tend the lamp within the temple. He pours in oil when the lamp burns low. The Akhaṇḍa is not allowed to cook food for Liṅgarāj or to enter the kitchen. He is also not allowed to go near the place where food has been placed for offering.

3. Baṛu: The term Baṛu is a corruption of Baṭu in Sanskrit. It is a surname held both by some Brahmans as well as by some of the Sudra servants attached to the temple.

There are 43 Baṛu families belonging to the Śudra Order employed in the temple of Liṅgarāj. Actually, the number of working members in them is 102. Among them, 91 are actually employed in the temple, while the other 11 have taken to the following professions: domestic servants, 5; tailoring, 1; cultivation, 1; selling prepared pān or betel, 1; begging, 3.

Baṛus are not permitted to enter the kitchen, nor to be present near the cooked food when it is offered to Liṅgarāj.

4. Bāuri: Bāuris form one of the 'untouchable' castes. It is their duty to sweep the road along which the car is drawn during the festival. Both Bāuris and Hāṛis are not allowed to enter the temple premises, which are surrounded by a high wall pierced by four gates. When the car is drawn, the Bāuri and Hāṛi also make the road ready for the purpose. They build temporary embankments on both sides of the road so that water does not flow over it. If the wheels get stuck in mud, they scrape away mud in order to release the wheels, while pilgrims pull the rope in order to make the car move. Bāuris also fell trees when timber is needed for building the car. Their main occupation, however, now is stone-cutting. Bhubaneswar is a growing city and laterite which spreads all around is a very popular building material.

5. Bhaṇḍāri or Bārika, Barber: They are also known as Masāla, torch, hence Torchbearer. When the Deputy of Liṅgarāj is taken out in procession, torches which are held by the side of the image are in charge of the Bhaṇḍāri.

There are six families of Bhaṇḍāris connected with the temple. Besides performing the above duty, they also cut hair or shave customers in the town, this being their hereditary, traditional occupation. Some Barbers also work as ordinary labourers, for earnings from their traditional occupation are inadequate.

6. Bhitar Khuṇṭiā: This is a Paṇḍā Brahman who keeps guard when food is being offered to the deity. He prevents people from entering the temple while the ceremony is on.

7. Brahman: A separate chapter has been devoted to the organization of Brahmans, and of the various sections among them. We shall here refer only to a few points regarding the Paṇḍā Brahmans.

The following services are entrusted to men of the Paṇḍā Brahman caste: Paṇḍā, Patri, Haṛapa Nāik, Garā Baṛu, Bhitar Khuṇṭiā, Dhalā Chatā, Kalā Chatā, Trāsa, Cāngaṛā, Dakkhina Ghara Sevaka, Dhopakhāla or Dhokhāliā, Mekāpa, Akhaṇḍa, Panti Baṛu, Paśupālaka, Puṣpāñjali, Mahāsuāra, Pārvatī, Pañcuāti, Carcita. The function of these officers is explained in alphabetical order in the present chapter. But there is one aspect of the occupation of Brahmans which should be detailed here.

A census was taken and it was found that quite a number of Brahmans who belong to the families connected with temple service are actually employed in the professions listed below. Actually in temple service, 70; in governmental service, 60; business relating to pilgrimage, 48; students, 35; sale of consecrated food to pilgrims in the temple precincts, 23; priesthood (not in temple), 21; begging, 19; service in the railway, 10; cooks employed in domestic service, 13; employed in transport service (motor companies, etc.), 7; teachers, 7; cultivation, 6; physicians (Western style), 4; physicians (Ayurvedic style), 3; in the Army, 2; trainee as air-pilot, 1; small trade: grocery, 18; pān or betel shops, 5; stone-cutting, 4; building contractors, 4; carpenters, 4; cycle stores, 3; sale of prepared tea, 4; electrical mistries, 3; bookshop, 3; small hotel, 2; sale of stationery goods, 2; sale of goats, 1; worker in a printing press, 1; sale of cloth, 1; renting out sugarcane presses, 1; other small business, 3; invalid, 7; unemployed, 9.

8. Cāngaṛā, Paṇḍā Brahman: The Cāngaṛā gathers all the clothes used by the deity and takes them away for washing by the washerman. These are washed, dried and then folded in a particular manner; after which they are handed over to the Pāliā Baṛu for storing.

9. Caprāsi, Sudra: They are engaged to keep guard at different doors in the temple.

10. Carcita, Paṇḍā Brahman: It is the duty of the Carcita to supervise the work of various services. If any of the appointed people absents himself, the Carcita sends for him and sees to it that the service is duly performed. It is also in his presence that consecrated food is distributed in the traditional manner among different servants engaged in the day. The office of the Carcita is therefore equivalent to that of a Superintendent.

11. Chatā, lit., Umbrella: There are three objects used as the insignia of royalty. There are a black umbrella, Kalā Chatā, white umbrella, Dhalā Chatā, and a flat leaf-shaped decorated object called Trāsa. These are held near the Transverse Beam when offerings are made to the deity.

Brahmans in charge of holding these insignia are referred to by the names of the objects in charge. The function of holding the insignia is also referred to by the names of the objects themselves.

12. Dakkhina Ghara Sevaka, Paṇḍā Brahman, lit., Servant of the Southern Room: These servants are entrusted with the task of carrying the brass image, serving as the Deputy of Liṅgarāj, and named Paśupālaka, in palanquins on festive occasions. They also sleep within the compound of the temple at night in order to keep guard.

13. Dhobā, Sudra, Washerman: The duty of Washermen engaged in the temple is, firstly, to wash the clothes used by Liṅgarāj, and, secondly, to help in building the wheels of the car used in the Car Festival every year.

Clothes are washed in a tank named Devi Pādaharā. These clothes are never washed by women. The Washerman first takes a bath and then washes the temple clothes. Clothes are not boiled in water with anything like soap or soda in it, but are washed in water only and then handed over to the Cāngaṛā Brahman servant who dries them in the sun. Cloth used by Pārvatī are, however, boiled in water and then washed. It is the duty of the Potter to supply earthen vessels in which Pārvatī's cloth is boiled.

The Washerman is paid in kind for his services. Different articles are given to him in different months. Thus in Sagittarius, he is given a sweetmeat called dhanu muā. During the festival of Baula Amāvasyā, he is given a sweet preparation named gainṭha. During the month of Cancer, seven pieces of cakes are offered to the deity in the Sātapuri Festival; these are received by the Washerman. In Aquarius, he receives some cakes and gram. In Pisces, the Washerman receives part of a rice-cake. When the Vigil of Sivarātri is held, he is given a portion of the Caru arna offering to the deity. This is prepared of rice, clarified butter and sugar.

In addition to the above dues, the Washerman also receives four pice every day in cash. He is allotted no service-land for cultivation nor homestead land free of rent. The land which he owns or the house where he lives are both personal property, for which due rent is paid. Several Washermen complained that remuneration from the temple has remained unpaid for the last two years. Some of the share of offerings due to Washermen is also not regularly given to them nowadays.

Washermen who were interviewed are practically no longer engaged in the service of the temple. One of them has taken up service in the Railway as foreman of a group of labourers, while another is in charge of a gate at a level crossing. Both earn about Rs.80 a month and have been in this service for nearly thirty years. These two Washermen families no longer depend on washing clothes.

There has recently been a considerable increase in the population of Bhubaneswar and it is hard to get a good supply of water for plying the trade; but women who remain at home do wash the clothes of various resident families in the town. The payment is one anna for every piece of cloth and it was found that women earn, on an average, about a rupee a week.

Three families of Washermen have made an improvement in their trade and opened dyeing and cleaning shops in the town. There is enough work for them in the growing city.

With regard to the shaping of wheels of the temple car, the traditional payment up to last year was as follows. For every day that they worked, they used to receive rice worth eight annas and seven pice in cash as wages. On the last day, it was customary to pay them eight annas in cash and three seers of rice for a joint feast. On that day, when they thus finished work, they were also permitted to catch fish in a tank called Koti Tirtha for their joint feast. There is a Headman of Washermen who has the title of Beherā, and all payments to Washermen were made by the Management of the Temple through him. For supervising the construction of wheels, the Beherā receives a present of a piece of cloth from the Management. This year (1958), however, Washermen who have taken to other occupations were not called for service in shaping the wheels.

14. Dhopakhāla or Dhokhāliā, Paṇḍā Brahman: It is the duty of this servant to sweep the kitchen and cleanse it ceremonially by besmearing the floor with a solution of cow-dung in water. Cooking can begin only after the kitchen has been thus cleaned.

15. Garā Baṛu, Paṇḍā Brahman: This functionary is in charge of the brass water-vessel, garā. He has to supply water during offerings, and also has to lay the wooden seat on the ground for the Paṇḍā priest to sit upon for offering food. After this, the Garā Baṛu summons the Great Cook, Mahāsuāra, to bring the food. The formula by means of which the Cook is summoned loudly is, 'O Mahāsuāra! Come now.'

16. Gauṛa, Milkman or Cattle-keeper, Sudra: There are eight families of milkmen serving in the temple. The brass Deputy of Liṅgarāj, as well as a Deputy of Vāsudeva, form of Vishnu or Krishna, to whom the temple of Ananta Vāsudeva is dedicated, are carried in palanquins by milkmen. It used to be the duty of the Dakkhina Ghara Sevaka to do so; but the task has been assigned of late to Gauṛas.

The Milkmen also tend cattle of private clients, and carry on trade in milk.

17. Ghanṭuā, Sudra: This servant plays the gong while food is being offered ceremonially to the deity.

18. Guṛiā, Confectioner, Sudra: The word is derived from gur, coarse, brown sugar. Sweetmeats are prepared by them from such sugar, puffed rice, grated coco-nut, etc., for temple service. They have also their private shops in the town.

19. Haṛapa Nāik, Supplier of Prepared Betel, Paṇḍā Brahman: The word *haṛapa* means 'articles needed for preparing betel'. The servant in charge of cutting areca-nuts and preparing pān or spiced betel leaves goes by this name. He has also to supply water in certain services.

20. Kāhāliā, Sudra: Servants who play on brass flutes or trumpets during the offering of food.

21. Karātiā, Sawyer, Sudra: They are actually woodcutters and have a part-time job in the temple. There are 68 such families in Bhubaneswar engaged in the following occupations: cultivation, 12; mason, 9; plying bullock carts for hire, 5; in private service, 5; stone-cutting, 3; motor-driving, 1; building contractor, 1; sweetmeat seller, 1; cultivation-masonry-stone cutting, 7; unemployed, 11; invalid, 1.

22. Keuṭa, Boatmen-Fishermen-Sellers of Puffed Rice, Sudra: During the Sandal-wood Festival, when the Deputy of Liṅgarāj is anointed with sandal-wood paste, boatmen ply the boat in which the Deputy is then carried.

For this service, the boatmen are collectively paid from ten to fifteen rupees in cash, while they are also permitted to sell fish in the market without payment of any rent or taxes. The 13 families interviewed were found to depend principally on fishing for their livelihood.

23. Kumbhāra, Potter, Sudra: Potters supply all the earthenware needed for cooking food in the temple. It should be observed here that no earthen vessel is used twice in the temple, so that, every day, a large number of such vessels are thrown away after use. In the town of Puri, the quantity which accumulates in this manner is so large that these broken bits of pottery are largely used in the making of roads. It is also interesting to observe that all round the temple of Konarak, within a radius of roughly two or more miles, thick layers of pottery are struck when one starts digging a well. This means that in the city surrounding the temple of Konarak, the same practice of discarding earthen vessels after one use was in vogue, and the city presumably existed for a long time while temple services were also conducted, so that these layers of broken earthenware could be built up all around.

There are 22 families of Potters attached to the temple. Out of these, six families have now practically given up service in the temple for one reason or another.

Women help men a great deal by collecting fuel and also the earth needed in manufacture. After the men have thrown the vessels on their wheels, it is ordinarily considered to be the duty of women to dry them in the sun and then store them in some dry place before they are fired. Therefore, in families where there are no women to help, it is difficult for men alone to carry on their trade profitably. Out of 22 families interviewed, women belonging to five families were either too few or too old to help their men. In another family besides the above five, there is a widow who lives alone, and there is no one to carry on the caste's traditional occupation.

It would be interesting to present information regarding the Potters' relationship with the Temple Management by means of actual cases. One Potter who was interviewed had supplied the following earthen vessels on the 23rd service day of the month of Aries: koṛua, 25; kuḷi, 8; sarā, 12; dohori khōlā, 5; koṛua holding 2 seers, 5; palama, 3; bāsudiā, 2; cakā;

4; deuḷiā, 4; baṛa kholā, 6; baṛa sarā, 4. He had also supplied the following to the temple of Ananta Vāsudeva : cakā, 1; kholā, 1; bāsudiā, 1; koṛuā, 2; sarā, 2.

The informant enjoys one māna (about one-fourth acre) of cultivable land which is rent-free, and his homestead land is also rent-free. He said that it was very difficult nowadays to gather fuel for the kiln. The aerodrome and New Capital of Orissa have been built to cover wide stretches of land which was once occupied by scrub jungle. As these places have been cleared, there has been an acute scarcity of fuel for the last few years. The price of earthenware has, consequently, gone up from two to four times of what it used to be. Besides rent-free homestead land and farm land, Potters also receive another kind of payment from the temple. During the festival of Sātapuri, Potters are presented with four pieces of sāṛī or women's garment and two big-sized cakes. This is distributed according to prescribed rules.

All the Potter families are divided into two sections in the same manner as the Brahmans are. The latter, known as Bāṛa, has been described in the following chapter. As the service of Potters is a very important one in the temple, the Bāṛa organization helps to maintain a regular supply of service as in the case of Brahmans.

In this caste, no one has gone in for higher education, office work or service of other kinds. None of them has given up his caste occupation, which is, of course, carried on along with cultivation. Some of the families, however, have sold part of service or homestead land when they ran short of money. These Potters also sell earthenware to the public in the local market.

Another Potter was also interviewed, who was to supply earthenware to the temple on the 21st day of Aries. It was discovered that he had not been able to supply his prescribed amount from stock. He had been suffering from shortage of fuel, hence the difficulty. So, on the day when his turn came, he informed the Management of the Temple, who entrusted one of the Brahman servants to supply the requisite number of earthen vessels. Most Brahmans connected with the temple maintain their own stock of earthenware, for these are needed by their pilgrim clients. During great festivals like the Car Festival, for instance, thousands of such vessels are indeed needed.

Originally, it was the rule to cook some of the cakes in the temple kitchen in earthen vessels. If any such vessel broke while cooking, then the Potter was heavily fined. Potters and Brahman servants subsequently entered into a private agreement, so that now those cakes are cooked in iron vessels, and as a token of gratitude to Brahmans for having thus saved them from repeated fines, Potters keep Brahmans supplied with large stocks of earthenware which are used either by pilgrims, or as in a crisis as described above. Brahmans have thus developed a subsidiary trade in the supply of earthenware.

(24) Mahāsuāra, Great Cook, Paṇḍā Brahman: The word is a corruption of Sanskrit, Mahāsūpakāra. This functionary group alone is entrusted with the task of cooking meals offered to Liṅgarāj; no other Brahman is permitted to do so.

(25) Mekāpa, Nekāpa, Nepāka, Paṇḍā Brahman: He is in charge of the store-room in which ornaments and clothes used for the images of Liṅgarāj and Pārvatī are kept. When required, the Mekāpa hands them over to the Cāṅgaṛā, who passes them on to the Pāliā Baṛu, who is actually in charge of dressing the idol. The Mekāpa has no other duty, and is a permanent employee who has to attend every day.

(26) Pāliā Baru, Baru in Charge of Service (on a particular day), Sudra: It is the right of Barus to offer flowers and leaves of the wood-apple on the image of Liṅgarāj or pour oblations of water on it on behalf of pilgrims who come for worship. They alone, again, have the right of clothing or dressing the image. In other words, Baru Sudra servants come into intimate physical contact with the idol.

There are altogether 43 such families connected with the temple of Liṅgarāj, in which there are 102 adult male members. Out of them, 91 are whole-time servants, while 11 have taken to the following occupations: service with private parties, 5; tailoring, 1; cultivation, 1; selling prepared betel leaves, pān, 1; mendicancy, 3.

(27) Pañcuāti, Panchayat: As has been indicated above, the term *pañcuāti* is a corruption of *pancāyat*, Committee of Five. This Committee is composed of members deputed by Paṇḍā Brahman and Baru Sudra servants employed in the temple. The Committee maintains a full record of services and servants, and also the turn each must take during different months of the year. In case of difference of opinion between various claimants, the Committee settles the dispute after reference to relevant records. A representative of the Committee has to be present every day during certain important occasions, and this has already been indicated while describing the daily services.

(28) Paṇḍā, Brahman: This group of Brahmans also generally known as Pujā Paṇḍā, Priest in charge of Worship, or simply Paṇḍā Brahman, is entrusted with numerous services connected with Liṅgarāj. Formal worship, when Sanskrit mantras or sacred formulae are recited, is part of their duty. They also perform the sacred fire-oblation, homa, in the kitchen in order to purify it before food is cooked there every day. These priests are in enjoyment of rent-free homestead land.

(29) Panti Baru, Brahman: This is a functionary belonging to the group of Paṇḍā Brahmans whose duty it is to decorate the floor with powdered rice on ceremonial occasions, e.g. when food has to be offered by the Paṇḍā priest. They themselves are permitted to offer light refreshments like vallabha meals to Liṅgarāj, but not anything above that, such as cooked rice, etc.

(30) Pārvatī, Paṇḍā Brahman: Engaged in the worship of Pārvatī, the consort of Liṅgarāj, to whom they have also to offer consecrated food after it arrives from the temple of Liṅgarāj. Their nickname is from the goddess whom they serve.

(31) Paśupālaka, Lord of Animals, a name of Siva; same as Pasupāti, Paṇḍā Brahman: As Liṅgarāj is formed of a block of stone, a brass image acts as Deputy in its place. This Deputy is known as Paśupālaka. Those in charge of service to the Deputy are nicknamed Paśupālaka. They have also certain other duties to perform in connection with daily service.

(32) Patri, Paṇḍā Brahman: It is the duty of this functionary to arrange all articles required during the offering of food. A wood-apple, a conch-shell, flowers, incense and a lighted lamp are arranged in front of the spot on the floor decorated with designs in rice-flour, called muruja, made by the Panti Baru. Then the Priest actually begins his worship, while the Patri supplies to him lamp or incense as they are needed.

(33) Phāraka, Guard, Sudra: The Phāraka is a watchman and locks the doors of the great temple at night when all the services are over. He remains within the temple precincts at night. When the door of the temple has to be opened in the morning, the Phāraka can only do so in the presence of the Superintendent or Carcita, the Baru who serves on

that particular day or Pālīā Baṛu, and a representative of the Committee or Pañcuāti.

(34) Pradhāna, Sudra: The Pradhāna's duty is to supply firewood in the temple and also help in the construction of the car every year.

Braja Pradhāna, who is a hundred years old, was interviewed by us. He has two sons and some landed property. His sons cultivate land for others as share-croppers and also ply bullock carts for hire or work occasionally as day labourers. In his time, Braja was attached as a servant in the temple, when he used to saw wood and help in the construction of the car. But as he grew old, he retired about ten years ago. His sons have not, however, taken his place in the temple. Braja said that formerly new timber was used every year for the construction of the car, but now old timber is employed for the purpose. In former times, he used to get a daily wage of seven pice on the days on which he worked. When the work was finished, he was finally paid 12 measures, gauni, of paddy and one piece of new cloth, besides which he also received 22 handfuls of gram and 22 handfuls of puffed rice or khai. He was also entitled to carry home the waste wood and shavings, etc., for domestic use free of charge.

The work of building the car is begun three days before the full moon when the Swing Festival, Jhulan Yātrā, is performed in the month of Cancer. On the whole, Braja had to work for about 22 days in sawing wood. The wood used to be collected in a jungle near Chandka, about 21 miles away from Bhubaneswar. The Forest Department of the Government used to supply 17 cartloads of wood free of cost, while the rest needed for the car was collected from villagers. There was a man named Durga Charan Paramguru in charge of supplying all the timber needed for the car. He enjoyed a piece of garden-land free of charge for this service to the temple.

At one time, the Abbot or Mahanta, of the Emar Monastery in Puri, became Chairman of the Managing Committee of the Temple of Liṅgarāj. This Abbot purchased the garden belonging to Durga Charan Paramguru, and since then no wood has been supplied by the latter. Fresh wood is also not nowadays gathered every year from the jungle, because it means both organization and labour. Since the Management of the Temple is reported to have become slack, cars are manufactured from old timber, derived from cars of previous years.

It should also be noted here that wood-cutters and sawyers serving in the temple do not all belong to a single caste. Those in actual service now belong to the Carpenter—Barhei, Cultivator—Casā, Blacksmith—Kamār, Washerman—Dhobā and Bāuri (untouchable) castes. It is the Carpenter and Cultivator castes who are mainly responsible for bringing and sawing wood for the construction of the car. Nowadays they have taken to stone-cutting, as that has become a profitable occupation with the growth of the New Capital of Orissa here.

(35) Puṣpāñjali, 'Offering of Flowers', Paṇḍā Brahman: Some Brahmans in charge of supplying flowers to the Priest for worship are popularly called by this name.

(36) Rosa Pāika, 'Attendant of the Kitchen', Sudra: They sweep the outskirts of the kitchen and supply water for cooking.

(37) Samarthā, '(The) Able (one)', Sudra: A servant whose duty it is to powder rice into flour and also biri pulses on a stone metate for the preparation of various foods. They also supply water for cooking.

(38) Telengā, (Man from) Telugu (country), Sudra: They play on certain types of musical instruments when offerings of food are made.

(39) Teli, Oilman, Sudra: They press oil from polang (*Calophyllum inophyllum*) and supply it to the temple for lighting lamps.

(40) Trāsa, Paṇḍā Brahman: Trāsa is a flat, leaf-shaped insignia which is a sign of royalty. This is held during worship along with the Black and White Umbrellas. Those who hold it are named after the object itself.

(41) Vimān Paṭiā, 'Wooden carrying pole attached to a palanquin', Sudra: The brass Deputy of Liṅgarāj, Paśupālaka, is carried from the temple to the Vindusarovar tank in a palanquin during the Sandal Festival, as well as on other occasions. Those who carry the palanquin on their shoulders are known by this name.

This task formerly belonged to Paṇḍā Brahmans like Dakkina Ghara Sevaka and Paśupālakas. About two generations ago, they gave this up, as it was considered to be derogatory for them to carry loads on their shoulders. Sudra cultivators were then employed to take their place. There are eight such families. But the wage-earners in these families also work as labourers in stone-cutting or in the construction of buildings.

IV

ORGANIZATION OF BRAHMANS

A special chapter has now to be devoted to the organization of Brahman servants of Liṅgarāj.

Paṇḍā Brahmans :

According to traditional history, the original Brahman servants of the temple came from South India and were known as Kamā Brahmans. There are no descendants of this group; nevertheless, there is some amount of homestead land or a ward in the village of Bhubaneswar which is still known as Kamā Sahi or the Ward of the Kamās. The present Brahman servants say that the Kamā were so much reduced in number that the survivors eventually left for their original home. The date, of course, cannot be given by them. Then, the Rajah of Puri, who was also the ruler of Orissa, invited 15 families of Brahmans from Kanyakubja or Kanauj in Uttar Pradesh and placed the services of Liṅgarāj in their charge. These 15 families were Readers of either the Sama or Yajur Vedas. Those belonging to these lineages are known as Paṇḍā Brahmans.

The Bāṛa Organization :

When a birth or death takes place in a family, it is customary in Hindu society to go into a period of ceremonial defilement when no religious rite can be undertaken. This defilement of both birth and death spreads among one's kin in the patrineal and matrineal directions up to a number of generations on each side. When the 15 Brahman families were thus made responsible for the service of Liṅgarāj, it was soon discovered that, as they were all related to one another either by birth or by marriage, their services became frequently interrupted. Therefore, an artificial arrangement was resorted to. This consisted of dividing the lineages into two groups, each of which is known as bāṛa. The term literally means a *wall*, hence *section.* The two bāṛas were named Uttar Bāṛa, Northern Section, and Dakkhin Bāṛa, Southern Section. There are eight lineages in the former and seven in the latter. These lineages have, by now, grown into large size. And it has also become the present custom to limit ceremonial defilement to one's close agnates and cognates, so that the entire bāṛa does not become involved.

Paṇḍā Brahmans, divided into two sections, naturally receive the emoluments which are their due when their turn comes for service. But besides this, the two sections, as such, also receive certain consecrated foods from the temple on several occasions. During the Panā Saṁkrānti Festival, three vessels of panā or sherbet are offered to Liṅgarāj. One of this is later on distributed among the officers of the Temple Management, while the other two are given to the two sections of Paṇḍā Brahmans. The offering of caru rice which is made during the Makara Saṁkrānti Festival is also distributed in the same manner. The same thing takes place during the Car Festival, the Spring Festival or Dol Pūrṇimā and Sātapuri Festival. No other class of servants is entitled to receive a share of the offerings during any of these five festivals.

Brahmans belonging to Sama or Yajur Vedas, and divided into two sections, bear surnames like Mahāpātra, Garā Baṛu, Mahāsuāra, Patri, Sangitrā, Paṛhiāri, Khuntiā and Pujā Paṇḍā. Marriage of Brahmans with the above surnames also takes place with Brahmans bearing surnames like Dāsa, Ratha, Satapati, but not with those having surnames like Miśra, Nanda, etc., who are higher and belong to the Śāsaniā group.

Śāsaniā Brahmans :

For many centuries, the kings of Orissa have, from time to time, given grants of land to Brahmans of learning or character. Sometimes colonies of Brahmans have been established and land granted for cultivation to support the families thus settled. These Brahman establishments are referred to in inscriptions as agrahāra. There is a different popular name for them. Because the villages are established by the king's rule, Śāsana, these villages are called Brahman Śāsana or simply Śāsanas. Those who reside there are consequently called Śāsaniā Brahmans, in the Oriya language.

The duty of Śāsaniā Brahmans, bearing surnames like Miśra, Nanda, etc., is to read and recite the sacred poem of Caṇḍī in the month of Virgo in the temples of the goddesses Gauri and Gopālani. They also serve as priests in the performance of the ceremony of Brahmābaraṇa or Pustakabaraṇa, Worship of Brahmā or of the Book. When the Car Festival takes place, Śāsaniā Brahmans worship the Guardian Angels of the Four Quarters, Cāri Dikpāla, and then sanctify it with the help of sacred water and the performance of homa or an Oblation to Fire, accompanied by the recitation of Sanskrit mantras or sacred formulae.

Śāsaniā Brahmans are also the religious preceptors of other castes, and during religious initiation, they utter a sacred formula into the ear of the disciple. They preside over ceremonies connected with marriage, birth and death as priests; perform various kinds of worship on behalf of their clients in order to counteract unfavourable astrological influences, or for bringing them good luck. Pilgrims in Bhubaneswar offer oblations to the manes on the banks of Vindusarobar tank with the help of these priests.

Śāsaniā Brahmans are entitled to receive gifts or dāna, when a client recovers from illness and offers a kind of thanksgiving ceremony to the gods, or obsequies are performed in a house and so on. Therefore, they are popularly known as Dānuā Brahmans, or those who are entitled to receive gifts.

In the temple of Liṅgarāj itself, Śāsaniās have a limited number of duties to perform, their principal duty and earnings coming from their service as priests. Every year, the Deity Liṅgarāj has to go through a marriage ceremony with his divine consort. It is usual in Orissa to have spectacular fireworks during the celebration of a marriage. This is true of many castes. When this marriage takes place in the case of Liṅgarāj, it is the Śāsaniās who are placed in charge of fireworks. When the Deputy of Liṅgarāj is on his way back to the temple after the marriage procession, the palanquin is stopped in front of the houses of Miśra Brahmans and the following offerings are made to the deity: sweetmeats called māṇḍu and kākara, germinating pulses, coco-nut, sliced ginger, cucumber and banana.

V

DISTRIBUTION OF SERVICES AND EMOLUMENTS

Priests and servants connected with the temple were perhaps few when the original arrangements were made. But, later on, families grew in size or split up, until there were many claimants to the same office. The Scribe, Parakaraṇa, maintains a list and notifies to each individual concerned his duties for the following day. The schedule is so correctly followed that a few people like Jayakrushna Mahapatra, for instance, actually can reproduce from memory the sequence of services of Paṇḍā Brahmans for the whole year. Mahapatra's memory in this respect is so phenomenal and accurate that we never came across a single error when we tried to check it against the written list.

Khaṭani is a term used to denote the particular duty or task which a person has to perform. When there are several people entitled to perform the same duty and receive emoluments, the turn of each comes by rotation after a long interval of days. In the present chapter, we shall not try to cover the whole year, but present a few illustrations from current practices, and then show how payments are made and were also made in the past.

The major work within the temple is assigned to Paṇḍā Brahmans, and their services are distributed by means of monthly schedules; each having his turn by rotation. The Mekāpa, Storekeeper, and Akhaṇḍa, Attendant of the Lamp, belong to this caste, but they are permanent employees and have to attend to their duties every day. Potters have a monthly schedule similar to that of the Paṇḍā Brahmans.

There are 43 houses belonging to Baṛu Sudras in one of the wards of Bhubaneswar. Each house takes its turn one day. When the fortieth has had its turn, it starts over again from the first house. The turns of Sudra servants, like Pāika, Ghanṭuā, Samarthā, Mādala, are all properly maintained by the Scribe. The number of Sudra servants like Oilman, Washerman, etc., is small, and the families concerned have come to an arrangement by mutual consent. The Astrologer—Abadhāna, and Guard—Caprāsi, are permanent employees and have to attend every day. Other Sudras, like Boatman—Keuṭa, Sweeper—Bāuri, Carrier of the Palanquin—Vimānapaṭiā, Carpenter—Baṛhei, are called on specific occasions only. As they are few, duties are mutually arranged by the persons concerned, not by the Temple Authorities. There is, therefore, no record or schedule in many of the cases.

Servants and Substitutes :

It has already been stated in Chapter III that many of the Brahmans and Sudras have given up service in the temple, or continue it, not personally, but by a proxy. Some of them have indeed become professional substitutes for others, and are thus able to supplement their meagre personal emoluments. A table of the services of Paṇḍā Brahmans will show the present state of affairs in this connection.

I Service assigned to Paṇḍā Brahmans	II Number of servants who have to perform the task	III Actual number who still attend to their duties	IV Number of those who have given it up	V * Number of days when those in Column II perform duty	VI * Number of days when service is done by proxy	VII Number of persons who serve as proxy in place of rightful servant
1. Mahāsuāra ..	30	24	6	29	1	1
2. Patri ..	21	4	23	5	25	1
3. Bhitar Khuṇṭiā ..	21	0	21	0	30	2
4. Paśupālaka ..	21	10	11	17	13	11
5. Cāṅgaṛā ..	19	3	16	5	25	1
6. Pārvatī ..	18	6	12	11	19	13
7. Chatā	18	4	14	9	21	9
8. Pūjā Paṇḍā ..	17	11	6	22	8	5
9. Panti Baṛu ..	17	5	12	6	24	1
10. Haṛapa Nāik ..	17	0	17	0	30	1
11. Dhopakhāla ..	16	5	11	11	19	1
12. Puṣpāñjali ..	12	4	8	9	21	7
13. Garā Baṛu ..	10	1	9	2	28	1
14. Trāsa	2	0	2	0	30	2

* It will be observed that the month is counted in 30 days, i.e. the year in 360 days. The rest of the five days have also to be arranged for. This is done by a complicated arrangement which is not necessary for our present purpose.

The same Paṇḍā Brahman serves in many capacities; and their turn of service comes at distant intervals by rotation. This is illustrated by the case of Lokanath Mahapatra.

Serves as		On which day of the month	Month
		Lokanath Mahapatra	
Chatā	..	1, 2, 3	Every month
Cāngaṛā	..	1, 2	do.
Patri	..	17	Virgo
Panti Baṛu	..	21, 22	do.
Garā Baṛu	..	26, 27	do.
Mahāsuāra	..	29	Scorpio
do.	..	29	Aquarius
do.	..	29	Pisces
do.	..	29	Cancer
do.	..	29	Leo
Paśupālaka	..	2	Virgo
do.	..	2	Aquarius
		Raghunath Paṇḍā	
Pārvatī	..	26, 27	Virgo
do.	..	26	Libra
do.	..	26, 27	Scorpio
do.	..	26	Sagittarius
do.	..	26, 27	Capricornus
do.	..	26	Aquarius
do.	..	26, 27	Pisces
do.	..	26	Aries
do.	..	26, 27	Taurus
do.	..	26	Gemini
do.	..	26, 27	Cancer
do.	..	26	Leo
Mahāsuāra	..	23	Sagittarius
do.	..	22	Capricornus
do.	..	23	Aries
do.	..	23	Cancer
Patri	..	27	Every month
do.	..	30	Pisces
do.	..	30	Aries
do.	..	30	Taurus
Bhitar Khuntiā		13	Every month
Haṛapa Nāik	..	26, 27	do.

The case of Jayakrushna Mahapatra is particularly interesting. He works as a proxy for many people all through the year, and a part of this arrangement can be illustrated by his personal and substitute duties for the month of Virgo, for instance.

Payments in the Past :

Khanjā Kaṭā * is an old document of very great value. It is of uncertain age, and the meaning of some of the terms has not yet been recovered;

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* Literally *khanjā* is 'that which is assigned, entrusted or paid to one's account'. *Kaṭā* comes from *kātibā*, to write off, to cut away from.

Serves as	Number of days of personal assignment	Number of days when he acts as proxy on behalf of others
Pujā Paṇḍā ..	nil	nil
Patri ..	1	25
Garā Baṛu ..	2	28
Panti Baṛu ..	1	24
Harapa Nāik ..	1	30
Bhitar Khuṇṭiā ..	1	28
Dhopakhāla ..	nil	19
Cāngaṛā ..	nil	25
Chatā ..	3	7
Paśupālaka ..	1	5
Puspāñjali ..	nil	nil
Mahāsuāra ..	nil	nil
Pārvatī ..	2	11
Trāsa ..	nil	nil

although the general sense is not unclear. The receipts and payments for services are recorded here for every individual employed. Servants belonged to many castes, and it is also interesting to find that some of the services are no longer there, while new ones have been added in comparatively later times which do not find a place in the document described here. In any case, we will illustrate how different castes were remunerated by taking one example from each. Altogether there are 102 instances recorded, out of which only 14 will be given below.

Firstly, let us explain how the adjustment of accounts was made.

Land was assigned to each servant. This bore a rent payable to the Management. The servant did not, however, pay; but the amount was debited to him. He also received other dues or commissions in a similar manner. All these were added up. Then, the particular servant had a number of duties to perform for which the Management had to pay him something, i.e. he received credit. At the end of the year, a balance was struck between his receipts and dues. If he had received more, he had to refund the balance to the Management. If there was shortage, the Management had to pay him the balance in cash.

Currency was formed by cowrie shells, and the scale was as follows :

4 kaṛā (unit) = 1 gaṇḍā (ga.)
20 gaṇḍās = 1 pana (pa.)
16 panas = 1 kāhana (kā.)

The measure of land is given below :

16 bisvās (bi.) = 1 gunṭha (gu.)
25 gunṭhas = 1 māna (mā.)
20 mānas = 1 bāṭi (bā.)

The measure of māna varies from place to place in Orissa; but, in the present instance, 4 mānas may be taken to be equivalent to 1 acre.

Let us now explain, before the specific illustrations are taken up, as to what was debited to the account of the servants. Firstly, it was the rent payable by him to the Management of land assigned for use. Then several terms are used, namely Khaṇḍau chāṛa dopaṇi, gaṇḍau, mulakajāri, cha lakhi māguni bheda or bheṭa, the meanings of which we have not yet been able to ascertain. Then comes an item, Deula duāra phala benṭa cautha kreya. Formerly, there were no shops in the village of Bhubaneswar, so that arrangement had to be made for the sale of fruits at the door of the temple so that pilgrims could purchase it for offering to the deity. People who did this had to pay a quarter of profits to the Management. This amount was debited to their account just like the rent payable for land. This is followed in the schedule by the term Ananta Purusotam devanka parichā bhāta, which means, probably, some payment in connection with the (right of sale of ?) rice offered in the temple of Ananta Vāsudeva. The meaning of three more items, mulakajāri, cha lakhi māguni bheṭa and gaṇḍau, are not yet known.

In any case, let us now illustrate one or more cases each drawn from all the castes comprising servants connected with the temple.

Serial No. 63. Brundaban Patra, Paṇḍā Brahman:

In enjoyment of land—bā. 0, mā. 13, gu. 10, bi. 15.
Rent due to temple calculated below:

				Land				Due		
@ kā.	pa.	ga.	per māna	bā.	mā.	gu.	bi.	kā.	pa.	ga.
1	6	0		0	4	18	12	6	8	10
1	7	4		0	5	4	11	7	8	7
1	4	0		0	1	15	10	2	0	10
1	0	0		0	0	9	6	0	6	0
(While acting as substitute of Kashinath Mahapatra)										
1	7	4		0	1	12	3	2	2	16
				0	13	10	15	19	2	3

Besides this, his other dues:

Mulakajāri	..	..	5	4	0
Deula duāra phala benṭa cauṭha kreya	..	..	0	7	0
Ananta Purusotam devanka parichā bhāta	..	..	0	3	0
Cha lakhi māguni bhedā	..	..	4	10	0
Khaṇḍau chāṛa dopaṇi	..	..	1	10	10
Gaṇḍau	..	..	0	4	10
		TOTAL ..	31	14	3

Payment due to Brundaban Paṇḍā for services rendered to temple:

			kā.	pa.	ga.
Wages for acting as Patri on 12 days	..	..	2	0	0
Wages (bartana) for acting as Cāngaṛā and Mekāpa	..	..	0	4	10
For supply of broomsticks to kitchen	..	..	0	6	0
Wages for acting as Carrier of Black Umbrella	..	..	5	10	0
For the services of (offering) water, flowers and food to the deity Kedareswara and to others	..	..	13	8	0
For services to the goddess Gauri in the month of Virgo	..	..	2	13	0
Part of services to the deity Ananta Purusotam during food offering	..	..	3	3	12
			28	1	2

In this case the servant received a surplus of kā. 3, pa. 13, ga. 1 which he has to refund to the Management.

Serial No. 48. Bali Naik:

In enjoyment of land amounting to mā. 4, gu. 18, bi. 12:

@ kā.	pa.	ga.	per māna	Land bā.	Land mā.	Land gu.	Land bi.	Due kā.	Due pa.	Due ga.
1	6	0		0	3	18	12	5	2	10
1	4	0		0	1	0	0	1	4	0
								6	6	10

Debited to servant's account because of the following services:

	kā.	pa.	ga.
Mulakajāri	0	14	0
Deula duāra phala benṭa cauṭha kreya	0	2	0
Ananta Purusotam devanka parichā bhāta	0	1	10
Cha lakhi māguni bhedā	0	10	10
Khaṇḍau chāṛa dopaṇi	0	9	10
Gaṇḍau	0	1	12
	8	13	12

Payments due to Bali Nāik for services rendered:

	kā.	pa.	ga.
For cooking rice and curry for the deity Harekrushna on 54 days	1	0	4
For sweeping away cobwebs from within the kitchen for 54 days	0	12	0
For service on 1½ days in connection with food offerings to Ananta Purusotam Deva	0	6	9
For offering food to the deity during the Sandal Festival at the moment when water mixed with turmeric paste is sprinkled on the image	5	0	0
	7	2	13

In this case the servant has received a surplus of kā. 1, pa. 10, ga. 19, which he has to refund to the Management.

A Dānuā or Śāsaniā Brahman does not have many duties in the temple. Case No. 77 is that of such a Brahman. It will be observed that he enjoys the land, i.e. the rent is debited to his account, and he has to render no service in return.

Serial No. 77. Bhobani Miśra, Dānuā Brahman:

@ kā.	pa.	ga.	per māna	bā.	mā.	gu.	bi.	Rent kā.	Rent pa.	Rent ga.
1	6	0		0	6	6	4	8	9	10
1	7	4		0	0	18	12	1	1	8
1	4	0		0	0	6	4	0	5	0
Ṭaṅki* land				0	3	17	0	0	8	10
			Land—	0	10	23	4	10	8	8

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* In some cases a piece of land is assessed at 1 ṭaṅkā or rupee without reference to its quantity. It is a kind of fixed, permanent rent. Such land goes by the name of ṭaṅki. Probably Bhobani Miśra's ancestor enjoyed such land, then it became fragmented and he has to pay a fraction of the original rent accordingly.

Besides these, the following is also debited to him:

	Rent kā.	pa.	ga.
Khaṇḍau chāṛa dopaṇi	1	8	10
Gaṇḍau	0	2	10
	12	3	8

Serial No. 66. Digai Baṛu, Sudra:

	@ kā.	pa.	ga.	per māna	bā.	mā.	gu.	bi.	kā.	pa.	ga.	kā.
	1	6	10		0	9	18	12	13	11	7	8
Land (for service to the goddess Gopālani)					1	6	0	0	35	1	0	0
									48	12	9	8

Besides these, the following are also debited to his account:

Khaṇḍau chāṛa dopaṇi	1	3	10	0
Gaṇḍau	0	3	9	8
	50	3	7	0

The following are credited to his account:

	kā.	pa.	ga.	kā.
Expenses for oblation of sweetened rice to the goddess Gopālanī	35	1	0	0
For service in festival observed in the month of Virgo for the goddess Mohani	1	8	0	0
For service of ceremonially bathing and clothing Gaṇeśa	1	4	0	0
For supply of clothes to five goddesses	4	8	0	0
	42	5	0	0

The excess of kā. 7, pa. 14, ga. 7 has therefore to be refunded by the servant to the Management.

Serial No. 88. Nārāna Maliā, Sudra (?):

	@ kā.	pa.	ga.	per māna	bā.	mā.	gu.	bi.	kā.	pa.	ga.	kā.
	1	7	4		0	1	0	0	1	7	4	0
Other dues—												
Khaṇḍau chāṛa dopaṇi									0	2	0	0
Gaṇḍau									0	0	7	0
									1	9	11	0

Maliās are servants of the deity Kapileswar, whose temple is about a mile from Liṅgarāj. Narana enjoys the above dues annually for services rendered, and no balance is struck.

Serial No. 73. Vaidya Physician Dayanidhi Mahapatra, Brahman:

@ kā.	pa.	ga.	kā.	per māna	bā.	ma.	gu.	bi.	kā.	pa.	ga.	kā.
1	6	0	0		0	13	12	14	18	9	6	0
1	7	4	0		0	5	8	4	7	11	13	0
1	4	0	0		0	3	8	13	4	3	1	0
					1	2	4	15	30	8	0	0

Besides the above, the following are also debited to his account :

	Rent			
	kā.	pa.	ga.	kā.
Khaṇḍau chāṛa dopaṇi	2	12	10	0
Gaṇḍau	0	7	13	0
	33	12	3	0

This Brahman physician attends upon Liṅgarāj. There are occasions when he is supposed to fall ill and a physician has therefore to be called. In Puri also, Jagannath has to take a bath at a certain time of the year, has fever, and a delightful sherbet is served to him as medicine. This is then distributed among pilgrims. As in the case of the Śāsaniā Brahman, no balance is struck against what is debited to him as in the account above.

Serial No. 94. Kamāra Bhuja Maharana, Blacksmith, Sudra :

Total land enjoyed bā. 0, mā. 5, gu. 0, bi. 0

	kā.	pa.	ga.
@ Re.1 for assigned holding (taṅki land). For part of this	3	12	0
Gaṇḍau	0	1	0
	3	13	0

No balance is struck, as his services are considered to be equivalent to his receipts.

Serial No. 80. Guṛiā Jambeswar Subudhi, Confectioner, Sudra :

	Rent		
	kā.	pa.	ga.
Enjoys land in share—mā. 6, gu. 0 (with others)	3	3	0
His expenses for oblation during the Vigil of Śivarātri	3	0	0
Balance ..	nil		

Serial No. 97. Māhāra Bairāgi Nāik, Sweeper :

	Rent	
	kā.	pa.
Enjoys land measuring mā. 6, gu. 12, bi. 8	7	6
For service of sweeping	7	6
Balance ..	nil	

Serial No. 96. Masāla Ārata Bārik, Torch-keeper, Barber (by caste) :

	kā.	pa.
Enjoys mā. 9, gu. 20 of land for which rent is	7	8
due to him for attending to torch in the presence of the Lord Mahāprabhu	12	8
Balance ..	kā. 5	

This has to be paid by Management to him.

Serial No. 93. Pathuriā Banamali Mahārāṇā and Krushna Mahārāṇā, Stone-cutter, Sudra:

	Rent		
	kā.	pa.	ga.
Enjoy mā. 5 of land for which rent is kā. 6 pa. 10			
@ kā. 1 pa. 6 .. mā. 3 rent is	4	2	0
@ kā. 1 pa. 4 .. mā. 2 ,, ...	2	8	0
mā. 5	6	10	0
Khaṇḍau chāṛa dopaṇi	0	10	0
Gaṇḍau	0	1	13
	7	5	13

Services are considered equivalent to payment thus received from Management.

Serial No. 90. Kumbhāra Madhu Muduli and others, Potter, Sudra:

They have to supply earthen vessels for cooking the vallabha (light meals) of the deity Harekruṣṇa.

	kā.	pa.	ga.
Enjoy land @ kā. 1, pa. 4 per māna For mā. 6 ..	7	8	10
Khaṇḍau chāṛa dopaṇi	0	12	0
Gaṇḍau	0	1	18
	8	6	8
Price of earthenware supplied	7	15	15
Balance ..	0	6	13

Balance has to be refunded to the Management.

Serial No. 76. Candra Mekāpa, Paṇḍā Brahman:

Enjoys land amounting to bā. 1, mā. 9, gu. 20.

Rates				Land			Rent		
				mā.	gu.	bi.	kā.	pa.	ga.
@ kā.	1	pa. 7	ga. 0	5	0	0	6	15	0
@ kā.	1	pa. 7	ga. 4	1	12	0	2	2	16
@ kā.	1	pa. 4	ga. 0	5	0	0	6	4	0
@ kā.	1	pa. 0	ga. 0	18	7½	0	18	4	15
				bā. 1, mā. 9, gu. 20			kā. 33, pa. 9, ga. 11		

	kā.	pa.	ga.
To this is added Gaṇḍau	0	8	9
	34	2	0
Due to him by Management for curdled milk offered to deities	11	6	10
For attending to store-room and other services	22	11	10
	kā. 34, pa. 2, ga. 0		
Balance ..	nil		

Serial No. 75. Vasu Nāik, Astrologer, Sudra (?):

	Rent		
	kā.	pa.	ga.
Enjoys mā. 15 of land @ kā. 1, pa. 6 per māna	20	10	0
Khaṇḍau chāṛa dopaṇi	1	15	0
Gaṇḍau	1	14	0
	24	7	0
Expenses for offering to goddess Nārāyaṇī	9	0	0
Expenses during festival in Virgo	0	15	0
	9	15	0

Balance of kā. 14 and pa. 8 refundable to Management.

Serial No. 74. Parakaraṇa Viswanath Nāik, Scribe, Sudra:

	kā.	pa.
Enjoys mā. 6 of land @ kā. 1, pa. 6 per māna	8	4
Khaṇḍau chāṛa dopaṇi	0	12
Gaṇḍau	0	2
	9	2
Expenses for one woman's cloth (he has to supply, evidently) and cowrie shells	4	8
Balance ..	4	10

Refundable to Management.

A Little More about Khanjā Kāṭa Records:

The total number of entries in the above record is 102. These are distributed among various castes as follows:

Paṇḍā Brahman	Nos. 1 to 64 (nearly 70 servants actually)
Dānuā or Śāsaniā Brahman ..	Nos. 77, 78, 81–83, 85, 99–102
Baṛu Sudra	Nos. 65–68
Maliā (at Kapileswar temple) ..	84, 86–89, 91
Endowments to Monasteries ..	69, 70, 98
Physician, Vaidya ..	71–73
Blacksmith, Kamāra ..	94, 95
Confectioner, Guṛiā ..	79, 80
Sweeper, Māhāra ..	97
Barber, Bārika ..	96
Stone-cutter, Pathuriā ..	93
Carpenter, Baṛhei ..	92
Potter, Kumbhāra ..	90
Storekeeper, Mekāpa ..	76
Astrologer, Nāik ..	75
Scribe, Parakaraṇa ..	74

When we add up the land assigned to each group for service, the following result is obtained:

	Land			Percentage of total
	mā.	gu.	bi.	
Paṇḍā Brahman ..	978	17	13	62·1
Endowment to Monasteries ..	198	10	15	12·5
Baṛu Sudra ..	89	12	8	6·1
Dānuā Brahman ..	83	5	1	5·3
Storekeeper ..	29	20	0	1·0
Stone-cutter ..	15	0	0	0·9
Astrologer ..	15	0	0	0·9
Confectioner ..	10	2	6	0·6

	Land			Percentage of total
	mā.	gu.	bi.	
Malia ..	10	18	12	0·6
Barber ..	9	20	0	0·6
Blacksmith ..	8	0	0	0·5
Sweeper ..	6	12	8	0·4
Potter ..	6	0	10	0·4
Carpenter ..	5	0	0	0·3
Scribe ..	6	0	0	0·4

VI

DIRECT OBSERVATION OF DAILY SERVICES

One day (on the eleventh day of the month of Pisces) we observed the services from morning till night in the temple of Liṅgarāj when some additional information not hitherto obtained from interviews or consultation of the records preserved by the Pañcuāti was obtained. Let us describe what we actually saw.

We first paid a visit to the Samara Ghara or kitchen and saw that 6 seers of sun-dried rice had been set aside for the day's needs. We were given the details of how part of this was to be used for the preparation of cooked rice and also part of it for grinding into flour needed for sweetmeats of various kinds. The vegetables stored there consisted of one piece of arum, two brinjals, two bananas, a small piece of ginger about an ounce in weight, one coco-nut and some salt. There were also new earthen vessels of various sizes needed for the day for cooking rice, sweetmeats, pulses and for storing water.

Then we interviewed the servants whose turn it was to serve on the particular day and collected some additional information which is given more or less in the form of a narrative.

Banchanidhi Samarthā (Sudra) was interviewed when he said that there are 10 families belonging to the Samarthā group. He serves in the temple for five days in the month and during the rest of the month he sells flowers to pilgrims when they come for worship or supplies them with water needed for service. All this, of course, is for payment. He owns a house and enjoys some rent-free land for service in the temple.

Not only does Banchanidhi Samarthā take his own turn of service but he also officiates in place of his father-in-law who was another Samarthā. His father-in-law died and left no heir. We saw Banchanidhi's son selling flowers at the door of the temple while we were told that his second son is in school. Banchanidhi has another business, namely the right of selling earthen lamps which are lighted by pilgrims with ghī or clarified butter as offering within the temple. This right is auctioned annually by the Temple Management, and this year he bid Rs.200 in order to purchase it.

Then we met Gandharva Samarthā. Gandharva works for ten days in the month. He also serves as a proxy for his father's younger brother who is another Samarthā. This uncle of his has started a shop for selling prepared betel near the main gate of the temple where he is helped by his son. Gandharva Samarthā therefore serves on his uncle's account when the turn of the latter comes and, of course, receives a certain share of the earning for his services. Gandharva Samarthā has two brothers who are engaged in cultivation. One of them earns his livelihood by cutting stone or as a labourer who carts goods for hire.

The community of Samarthā has now been broken up into two subdivisions, one being known as Samarthā and the other as Beherā. There are five lineages in each half. The two sections do not intermarry, and it is arranged that ceremonial defilement in one section due to birth or death does not affect the other.

Then we went to the temple in the south of Liṅgarāj named Dakkhin Ghara Mandira. It was the turn of a Brahman servant, named Kedar Paṇḍā, to serve on this day, but his place had been taken by his nephew as proxy. This young man is 11 years of age.

Then we entered the temple of Liṅgarāj itself where we met Govinda Nepāka or Mekāpa who sat at the door of the store-room. He told us, his duty is to issue ornaments, clothes, sandal-wood, lamps, incense, etc., from the stores when required for the decoration of Liṅgarāj all through the day. Govinda's father is still alive and there is only one lineage of Mekāpa Brahmans today in Bhubaneswar. Govinda enjoys six acres of land and a house free of rent for the service described above, also because he stays (sleeps) within the temple in order to keep guard. Govinda is, moreover, paid in kind, as part of the offering of rice and curds made to Liṅgarāj is given to him.

We proceeded from the Liṅgarāj temple to the temple of Gopālani where we met Giridhari Mokadam who is a Baṛu-Sudra servant. It was his turn to serve on that day, so that he was the Pāliā Baṛu for the day. Giridhari Mokadam informed us that the food offered to Liṅgarāj in the morning and the breakfast named vallabha are distributed between the Paṇḍā, Patri, Mahāsuāra and Samarthā. The Pāliā Baṛu also receives two balls of rice from the morning offering, one and a half potfuls of rice and some moong pulses from the Satra Meal and one ball of rice from the Midday Meal.

The Pāliā Baṛu of the day was also serving in the capacity of Phāraka. He performs this extra service of two days in the month and during those days he also sleeps within the temple along with the Mekāpa and the Servant of the Southern Room or Dakkhin Ghara Sevaka. For these services as Phāraka, one receives two sweetmeats offered to Liṅgarāj, namely one kākara and one naṛu. Then we proceeded to the temple of Liṅgarāj's consort Pārvatī. No food offerings are separately cooked for the goddess Pārvatī. After food has been offered to Liṅgarāj it is carried to the temple of Pārvatī for presentation to her. One potful of rice is received by Pārvatī's Brahman priest in charge of a particular day. This servant also receives as his payment one piece of sweetmeat called kānti and a ball of rice from the Midday Meal and rice and curds from the Evening Meal.

Then we interviewed Bhramara Mahapatra who represented the Pañcuāti for the day. Actually Bhramara was officiating in the place of Carana Paramaguru whose turn it was to represent the Pañcuāti on that day. Carana Paramaguru no longer works in the temple but cultivates land. Whoever serves as his proxy is paid one-fourth of the receipts.

We proceeded from the temple of Pārvatī to the small shrine of Bruṣava or the Bull, the vehicle of Liṅgarāj. The servant in charge of the service of the Bull was present there. His name is Ramcandra Baṛu and he is Baṛu-Sudra by caste. It is Ramcandra's turn to serve for one month and five days during the whole year. In addition to his own service, he also does extra work as proxy for others. There are two more proxies of this kind. Between these three partners there is a specific arrangement. The three together are responsible for serving half of the year; this half number of days has been divided into five equal parts. Ramcandra Baṛu works for three of these shares while the other two work for one share each. This means that in six months Ramcandra works for three months eighteen days and the other two for one month six days each. The payment made to the Servant of the Bull is as follows : two sweet balls of puffed rice or khai in the month of Sagittarius, one sweetmeat called sātapuri kākarā in the month of Leo and a piece of cloth which is used to cover the Image of the Bull.

Besides the above service in the temple of the Bull, Ramcandra also takes the turn of Pāliā Baṛu once in every month.

Ramcandra has three sons; one is in school, one serves as a guide to pilgrims and the third sits idle at home. We proceeded from here to the Rosa Khoṭa or kitchen itself. It was about 12 o'clock, yet the ovens had not been lighted for Liṅgarāj's Morning Meal. We saw the following things ready for cooking : a small quantity of green leaves of reddish colour worth about one pice to be used as a vegetable, two small pots of curdled milk, one small pot of milk, some sliced coco-nut and banana, clarified butter weighing one seer two chataks; guṛ or coarse brown sugar weighing one seer four chataks and some powdered biri pulses and moong pulses.

The Brāhman servant who was cooking that day was Dhanu Garā Baṛu. We learnt from him that it was actually the turn of Lakkhidhar Khunṭiā to cook on that day, but Dhanu had to officiate in place of Lakkhidhar who did not know how to cook. Dhanu Garā Baṛu receives one rupee for his labours for a day. Lakkhidhar Khunṭiā's turn to cook comes on three days every year, namely the 14th khaṭani or service in the months of Capricornus, Taurus and Virgo.

We proceeded to interview the Carcita or Superintendent. It was the turn of Ghanasyam Paṇḍā to serve on that particular day. Ghanasyam works for a fortnight every month. It is his duty to send messages to various servants if they do not come on time, and also to watch for cash offerings which fall upon the image of Liṅgarāj. Ghanasyam receives one-eighth of this offering, which is called bheṭa, as his dues as well as a ball of rice in the morning and one kākarā cake and a pot of khiri porridge during the Midday Meal of Liṅgarāj. We also met the Kāhālia or one of the musicians named Daitari Mahapatra whose turn it was to serve on that day. There is only one family in Bhubaneswar which serves in this capacity. Daitari receives a small remuneration for his services in the temple.

As we waited there, arrangements were made for the distribution of shares to the various servants of the temple. It appeared that everybody insists upon his dues with great strictness. The following distributions were made :

Designation of officer	*Amount of share of food received*
1. Mekāpa	One ball of rice
2. Parakaraṇa	do.
3. Gopālani	do.
4. Pāliā Baṛu	do.
5. Carcita	do.
6. Pujā Paṇḍā	do.
7. Patri	do. and 1 enduri-cake
8. Mahāsuāra	do.
9. Cāngarā	Haṁsakali, puli, ½ of an enduri, 1 plate of khecuri
10. Ghanṭuā and Mādala and Samarthā	One ball of rice
11. Akhaṇḍa	Three pulis, ½ of enduri Some khecuri and kadmā
12. Officials of the Endowment	One ball of khecuri Two pieces of enduri One ball of rice, some green leaves

Food offerings to Gopālani were then distributed in the manner shown in the table below :

Designation of officer	*Amount of share received*
1. Pujā Paṇḍā	One ball of rice One piece of enduri
2. Patri	One piece of enduri
3. Samarthā	Two balls of rice One piece of enduri
4. Mahāsuāra	Some rice, 3 pieces of enduri, dal, 2 chataks

The Satra Bhoga also known as Bhaṇḍa Dhūpa was distributed in the following manner :

1. Patri	Half pot of rice One-fourth pot of dal (pulses)
2. Pujā Paṇḍā	Half pot of rice One-fourth pot of dal (pulses)
3. Pāliā Baṛu	Two pots of rice One ball of rice Half pot of dal (pulses)

The Vallabha Bhoga which was ready at 5 p.m. was distributed in the following manner :

1. Pujā Paṇḍā	One piece of kākarā
2. Samarthā	One piece of kākarā
3. Mahāsuāra	One piece of kākarā and one piece of tripuri

The Midday Meal or Madhyāhṇa Dhūpa which was ready at 6-30 p.m. was distributed in the following manner :

1. For the services of Patri, Panti, Baṛu, Haṛapa Nāik, Bhitar Khunṭiā, Garā Baṛu, Avakas Mahapatra received five units. A unit or division is called a khei, and may consist of one item, or several items of food given together.
2. For the services of Cāngaṛā and Dhopakhāla, Jayakrushna Mahapatra received two kheis or units.
3. For the services of Akaṇḍa and Carcita, Ghanashyam Paṇḍā received three kheis.
4. Liṅgarāj Paṇḍā, for his service as Priest for the day's worship or Pujā Paṇḍā, one khei.
5. Bhramar Pañcuāti for the services of Puṣpāñjali received one khei.
6. Ramcandra Mahapatra for the services of Chatā and Trāsa two kheis.
7. Kedar Paṇḍā for the services of Paśupālaka one khei.
8. Ramkrushna Baṛu for the services of Phāraka one khei.
9. Arjuna Garā Baṛu for the services to Gopālani one khei.
10. Banchanidhi Samarthā for his duty as Samarthā one khei.
11. Officials of the Endowment: moong, maricipāni, madhuruci, panā, and one ball of rice.
12. Pāliā Baṛu, one ball of rice.
13. Mahāsuāra, four nari and one madhuruci.

The meals served to Pārvatī consists of one kānti. One ball of rice is taken by the Priest of Pārvatī. This offering is made along with the Midday Meal of Śiva. The offering to Gopālani which consists of one pot of khiri, one kānti, is taken by the Samarthā. This offering is also made during the Midday Meal.

While the distribution was taking place, we discovered some interesting cases of proxy. Abakasa Mahāsuāra was performing the task of Patri for the day. In addition to this, he also performs the services of Bhitar Khunṭiā, Haṛapa Nāik, Garā Baṛu and Panti Baṛu on the same day. His turn as Patri comes only on two days in the year, namely 14th day of the months of Capricornus and Pisces. On the 14th day of Capricornus and the 16th and 17th day of each month he takes his turn as Bhitar Khuntiā and Harapa Nāik respectively.

VII

BARU VERSUS BRAHMAN

It appears from certain old records which will be discussed in the present chapter that disputes have been in existence for nearly 100 years between the Baru (Sudra servants), the ordinary Brahman servants belonging to the Paṇḍā group and the Brahmans of a superior kind, namely the Śāsaniās. The earliest record available now dates from the 14th of June, 1861. The case arose out of a demand for compensation made by Narayan Mahapatra and other Suāras or Brahman cooks. The demand was to the extent of Rs.25-1-10 pies for food which had been discarded for a reason which was not recorded. The defendants were Siva Ram Santra and Baru Singari. The respondent had approached the British Government who referred the matter to Maharaja Divya Singha Deb of Puri who, in turn, referred it to his Queen Suryyamani Pātamahādei. The following is a literal translation of Queen Suryyamani's report:

> There is an order to enquire into the matter of cooking of food for Liṅgarāj by the Suāras. The question is, what remuneration do the Suāras get when they cook offerings on behalf of other Sevakas or servants? Is there no difference in this respect between the practice of the temple of Jagannāth in Puri and Liṅgarāj in Bhubaneswar? If there is difference, what are the prevailing customs in either of these temples?
>
> After proper enquiry it was discovered that in the temple of Jagannāth in Puri the Suāras are entitled to cook the food offered by pilgrims or by servants of the temple when their turn or khaṭani comes. When the latter offer food to Liṅgarāj either for their own sake or on behalf of their pilgrim clients, the Suāras should receive some payment either in cash or in kind for this service from the Sevaka or servants and pilgrims concerned. There is no fixed rate for such payment; it is settled by agreement between the two parties.
>
> The Paṇḍā Brahmans offer food to the deity Jagannāth Mahāprabhu either on behalf of the pilgrims or on behalf of servants for which the Paṇḍā Brahman receives some share of the food offered. Thus, some cooked rice, one measure (bori) of rice cake for every vessel of cakes offered, one tarā (another measure), some Kherā and Kanikā offerings worth one pice and Kharacur and cooked rice worth one or two pice are received by the Paṇḍā Brahman as his share directly from the Suāra who cooked food offerings originally.
>
> Whatever offerings are thus deducted from the total offerings made by Sevakas on a particular day (this is on the basis of the number of earthen vessels containing the food) are divided into two halves, one half of that share is given to the Suāra Baru, Garā Baru and also to the Patri Baru who washes the Hall of Offerings or Bhoga Maṇḍap after food has been offered there and also supplies the materials used at the time of offering. The Pariāri receives one small vessel of rice and a small piece of amālu from the offering known as Kotha Bhoga, for he keeps watch in the first Bhoga Maṇḍap or Hall of Offerings.

In the other halls there are other servants who also receive their appropriate share. The Nekā (Nepāka) and Pradhāna also receive some share from the Suāra for help rendered.

The system which is prevalent in the temple of Liṅgarāj is as follows :

The Baṛu Servants guide all pilgrims in Bhubaneswar and accompany them to the image of Liṅgarāj and whatever the pilgrims offer in the shape of flower or bael leaves on Liṅgarāj is received by the Baṛus as their perquisite. If the pilgrims offer money for the purpose of making food offerings to Liṅgarāj then three-fourths (twelve annas out of sixteen annas) of the food so cooked are given to the pilgrim himself; three annas share of food, i.e. three-sixteenths are received by the Baṛu Sevaka who took him to Liṅgarāj, and one anna share or one-sixteenth is received by the Suāra who cooks the food.

On festive occasions and on other days, the Baṛu Servant receives three vessels full of rice. This vessel is a brass jar which is used for carrying water to each Hall of Offering where the water is used for washing the room, the staircase and the doorway leading up to it. This vessel full of rice is given to the Baṛu by the Suāra whose turn it is to serve on a particular day.

If the Baṛu Servants or the Suāras offer any food to Liṅgarāj on their own account, i.e. not on behalf of any client or pilgrim, then they do not demand anything from one another. This is the system in vogue in the temple of Liṅgarāj.

This information is submitted for Your Excellency's information.

Dated this the 14th day of June, 1861.

Sri Suryyamani Pātamahādei
c/o Sri Divya Singha Deb,
Maharaja of Puri.

A second settlement of dispute by one Mr. Hin (?) Sahib is dated 26th December, 1861. The report of this officer is given below :

There is a dispute arising between the Baṛu and Brahman Servants of the Lord Liṅgarāj in Bhubaneswar under the jurisdiction of Khurda Sub-division. It was ordered that I should make a spot enquiry and report. According to this order an investigation into the matter was carried out in the presence of both the parties, Parichā Sudarsan Bhārati of the temple, and Parakaraṇa Sadasiv Nāik and the gentlemen Mahadev Mangaraj and Syamsundar Haricandan of Mauza Jagamara and Satyabadi Patnaik of Jaula and it was found out that the Baṛu Servants were given by the Brahman Servants one garā—water vesselful of rice—on the days of festivals for the services of cleaning the Hall of Offerings of the Lord Liṅgarāj. Nevertheless in 1848 the Deputy Collector Madhu Sudan Patnaik, in his decision on the 12th July, 1848, having disregarded the payment of one vessel of rice in each Hall of Offering which is also mentioned in *Madalāpāñji*—Temple Records—had decided that the Baṛu Servants were entitled to get three vessels of rice in each Hall of Offering. But it is not known why he had mentioned it on the basis of each Hall of Offering. But the Brahman and Baṛu Servants in a compromise between themselves have decided that the Brahman Servants should give two vessels of rice in a brass vessel and one vessel of rice in a copper vessel which is half the size of the former, that is two and a half vessels of rice in brass pot to the Baṛu Servants on the days of festivities. Accordingly they had filed the compromise petition in the Court of the Deputy Collector on the 20th February, 1849. Now both the parties have got true copies of the compromise petition and have been acting accordingly, so that the Brahman Servants pay two and a half brass vessels of rice every day to the Baṛu Servants. But now while attempting to get three vessels of rice in place of two and a half in festivals, the Baṛu Servants are trying to alter the standing decision and have picked up a quarrel with the Brahman Servants, and are not attending to the temple services properly; they have (virtually) closed the door of the temple. Therefore an inquiry has been made by me and the grievances of both parties heard and finally some regulations and laws have been prepared so that the temple management may run smoothly in future. These regulations are as follows :

(1) That as there are rules and regulations regarding management of the Koṭha Bhoga, Sevāpujā, Nitikānti and Janiyātrā, etc., those rules stand and these works will be carried out as usual. The servants will perform their respective duties in the temple as usual. If any servant fails to do so and is found guilty, the Parichā will report against him in the Court and disciplinary action will be taken against that servant.

(2) For the work of Dhopakhāla of the Hall of Offerings the Baṛu Servant should be given two brass vesselfuls of rice and one copper vesselful of rice, which is half the size of the brass pot, on festive days and half a brass vesselful of rice every day by the Brahman Servant according to the compromise which both the parties arrived at among themselves.

(3) In addition to the Koṭha Bhoga, the Baṛu Servants should receive cakes if those are offered in the Satra Meal as they get usually from the Brahman Servants. If the Brahman Servants prepare extra cakes over and above the cakes usually prepared daily, the Parichā should investigate and report to the Court. The Court should review from time to time (how the services are being conducted) on the basis of the report given by Parichā.

(4) If the Baṛu Servants want rice and curry to be cooked for their own use in addition to rice and curry for their pilgrim-clients (jajmān), they can do so. In this case they will supply to the Brahman Servant rice, and vegetables and fuel and earthen pots. The Brahman Servants should cook for the Baṛu Servants and take one share for their labour and give three shares to the Baṛu Servant. In addition to food which they receive they are also entitled to get half a pice for each pot of rice from the Baṛu Servant. For the preparation of curry, the Baṛu Servant will supply vegetables, ghee and spices and fuel to the Brahman Servant who will cook the curry for the Baṛu Servant and will charge one pice per pot of curry for labour from the latter. Brahman Servants are ordered to cook the food well, but if they do not do so and if that is reported by the Parichā of the temple in the Court, then the Brahman Servant will be punished.

(5) If a Baṛu Servant wants to purchase food offerings for his relatives or for pilgrims then the Brahman Servant will sell them the food at the regular market rate. If there is any trouble

regarding price, then the aggrieved party will report to Parichā and the Police will settle the dispute.

(6) The duty of cooking the daily meals belongs to the Brahman Servant and that of the offering of water, flower and bael leaves on the image of the Lord belongs to the Baṛu Servants. But it has been reported that Brahman Servants offer flower and bael leaves on the Lord Liṅgarāj for their kinsmen and also on behalf of their pilgrim-clients. Now a quarrel has arisen between the two parties on this issue. It is hereby decided that in future the Brahman Servants may offer flowers and bael leaves to the Lord through the Baṛu Servants and whatever is given by the pilgrims, in whose name the flowers and bael leaves are offered to the Lord, will be divided into two halves : one half is to be given to the Baṛu Servant and the other half to the Brahman Servant. But if a particular pilgrim desires that he or she will be contented if his or her Brahman Priest personally offer flowers and bael leaves, then the Brahman Servant can do so without the Baṛu. The latter cannot raise any objection. But the Brahman cannot adorn the God with flowers and bael leaves for anyone who is not his (regular) client. If he does so then he will be punished.

(7) The Parichā of the temple reports that the Suāra Jamai Paṇḍā has adulterated ghee which was given to the temple for the preparation of daily meals. Jamai Paṇḍā was summoned but he did not turn up in my Court. The Parichā has produced two witnesses, Parameswar Nāik and Siva Jena, to prove that Jamai Paṇḍā had adulterated good ghee. Now a decision will be given by this Court against Jamai Paṇḍā.

(8) It is reported that the Bisois who are appointed to supply good ghee to the temple for the preparation of daily meals are supplying bad ghee. This has happened as the Parichā does not properly look after the management. Now the Parichā is warned not to be lax in his duties and if he does so again he is warned that he will severely be dealt with.

(9) The Baṛu and Brahman Servants are asked to abide by the decision given above and act accordingly. In case of breach of discipline the accused will be severely dealt with.

26-12-1861.

In this connection it appears from the above decision that there has been a long-standing dispute between Brahmans who are exclusively in charge of cooking and who also serve as guides to pilgrims and the Baṛu Servants who have the right of offering flowers and bael leaves on Liṅgarāj himself. Brahmans have always recognized the right of Baṛus, but have also tried to encroach upon the exclusive right of the latter in the matter of rendering service to their clients. This case also seemed to have dragged on till at least about 1910 or 1911 when we receive another interesting document signed by Raja Ramesh Chandra Acharyya Chowdhury and his family on the 18th of Phalgun, 1317 B.S. This Brahman Zamindar from Muktagacha in Mymensingh district came on a visit to Bhubaneswar and left a signed statement which is translated below :

I stayed in Bhubaneswar for three or four days where I came on pilgrimage. On this occasion there was very great trouble about the selection of my guide or Pāṇḍā.* The guides or Pāṇḍās are divided into two sections : one section belongs to the Baṛu or Sudra caste, the other is Brahman by caste. But the Baṛus represent that they are Brahmans and the general body of pilgrims who do not have very much time to enquire also accept them in the belief that they are Brahmans and allow them to help in the performance of religious ceremonies proper for this pilgrimage. But my suspicions were aroused and I made special enquiries in the matter. I enquired of the Manager of the Temple, Babu Rajendra Nath Gangopadhyay, and also Babu Priya Nath Chattopadhyay, Pleader at the Judge's Court, Cuttack, who is the Superintending Member of the Managing Committee of the Temple along with several other gentlemen and learnt that the Baṛus indeed belong to the Sudra caste. There was a law-suit regarding the right of service in the temple between the two classes. The case was decided by a Special Judge at Cuttack on the 14th of March, A.D. 1900. On reading this judgment I also found that Baṛus belong to the Sudra caste : 'respondents are the Baḍu or Sudra Sevakas'. My uncle Babu Gopal Candra Acharyya Chowdhury had selected a guide or Pāṇḍā (for himself). In that record, I found that Damodar Singāri gave his signature in which the term Baṛu has been mentioned —(he signed) as Damodar Baṛu Singāri. Therefore, Damodar is only a Sudra Servant belonging to the Baṛu caste. The question may now be raised, if the Baṛus are Sudras, how are they allowed to serve as pilgrim guides or Pāṇḍās? On enquiry I found that in a temple of Siva, worship can be offered by men belonging to all castes. More especially here, these (Baṛus) supply flowers to Siva for Siva worship and also decorate the Siva image here (i.e. perform the singāra service by means of flowers). Therefore, they are also designated by the term 'Singāri'. But there are Brahmans carrying the name of Singāri also, because here in Bhubaneswar none except the Brahmans is allowed to touch the image (?).

The Baṛus in Bhubaneswar are prosperous. The Brahman Pāṇḍās are very much poverty-stricken. Moreover, on account of this internal quarrel, the condition of the latter has deteriorated very much in course of time.

I observe here that some residents of Muktagacha have fallen into a mistake and have accepted as their guide, Baṛus, i.e. people bearing the title Singāri. It is my belief that if they knew all the facts or had made proper enquiries then they would have discovered that the Baṛus belong to the Sudra caste and then they would have never accepted Baṛus as their guides or Pāṇḍās.

As I consider it improper to accept the Baṛus as Pāṇḍā, I have selected Madhusudan Pāṇḍā as my Priest here and have performed all the ceremonies connected with the pilgrimage through his help. Madhusudan is the son of a Brahman Pāṇḍā named Narayan Pāṇḍā (deceased) who was the descendant of a Brahman Pāṇḍā selected by Kashi Kanta Acharyya Chowdhury (deceased).

With me are the following persons :

My wife Srimati Sikhar Basini Debi Chowdhury,
My two sons and daughter,
Sri Satish Chandra Sanyal,

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* Pāṇḍā in Bengali is the common term for a pilgrim guide. It is the Bengal adaptation of Oriyā Panḍā.

Sri Surendra Nath Bandopadhyay,
Sri Durga Prosad Chakraborty,
His wife and daughter, and
My personal servants Sri Dwijendra Chandra Dey, and
Sri Sarat Chandra Dey.

Dated the 18th day of Phalgun, 1317 B.S. (A.D. 1911).

Sd. Ramesh Chandra Acharyya Chowdhury
,, Heramba Nath Chakraborty
,, Sikhar Basini Debi Chowdhury
,, Satish Chandra Sanyal
,, Raj Kumar Sanyal
,, Surendra Nath Bandopadhyay
,, Rai Kumar Acharyya
,, Dwijendra Chandra Dey
,, Kailash Chakraborty
,, Durga Prosad Chakraborty
etc., etc.

There was another occasion when the dispute between Baṛu, Brahman Sevakas and other Brahman Priests of the Liṅgarāj temple became acute. A committee was formed of the three persons, viz. (1) Rai Bahadur Raj Kishore Das, (2) Rai Sahib Gourishyam Mahanti and (3) the Abbot or Mohanta of the Emar Math or Monastery at Puri. The report of their findings as recorded in the temple archives of Liṅgarāj is given below :

Question (1) : Who is entitled to offer bael leaves, water and flowers upon the head of Liṅgarāj ?

It is understood from all the documents available that the Kings authorized the Baṛu Servants to perform this service; it is also proved that they have been doing so ever since the beginning. There is no doubt about the fact that it is the hereditary right of the Baṛus to offer bael leaves, water and flowers to the Lord. The other parties also admit this. Therefore this is recognized as the right of the Baṛus.

Question (2) : Can the Brahman Sevakas (servants) also offer the same service, and, if so, under what circumstances ?

According to the custom which is prevalent in other temples of Siva and also in consonance with the decision of the Local Agent, Srijut Hin Sahib, the Brahman Servants are not entitled to offer bael leaves, water and flowers on the Lord's image.

But we cannot agree to this as the finding. We consider it proper that, in view of the recognized right of the Baṛu Servants to perform this service, they are entitled to receive a share of the receipts made by Brahman Servants if the latter also perform the service under unavoidable circumstances. Therefore, Brahman Servants must give a share to the Baṛu Servants when they offer bael leaves, etc., on behalf of their pilgrim clients.

Question (3) : If the Brahman Servants make these offerings on behalf of their clients, are the Baṛu Servants bound to supply them with the bael leaves, water and flowers ?

From available documents it is clear that the Baṛu Servants are not bound to do so. The share of receipts which is granted to them from those of the Brahman Servants is neither in payment of their labour nor as a price of items of offering.

Question (4): How will the total receipts of the Brahman Sevakas be distributed among both parties?

If the Brahman Sevakas themselves perform the act of offering or get it done through Baṛu Servants, then half of the receipts in either case should be given to the Baṛu Servants.

Question (5): Can the Brahman Servants offer bael leaves, water and flowers on the Lord's image on their own behalf?

It was found out after detailed enquiry that the Brahman Servants have been offering bael leaves, water and flowers for their own sake while pretending to make these offerings in the name of pilgrims who are absent. The Baṛu Servants are deprived of their due share on such occasions. Therefore, it is our decision that if the Brahman Servants wish to make the above offerings for their own sake they can only do so through the Baṛu Servants or in proper co-operation with them, otherwise they may not make any offering.

Question (6): When the general offering of food or Bhoga (Satra Bhoga) is made by pilgrims, can the Pujā Paṇḍā or Brahman Priests and other servants of the temple receive a share of such offerings? If so, then what proportion do they receive?

On this issue there is a decision of the High Court, dated the 24th of July, 1912. We cannot make that decision null and void. But after the decision of the High Court, the Managing Committee of the Temple made an arrangement so that Pujā Paṇḍās (Brahmans) should receive two pies per Rupee (192 pies) worth of food offerings made to the Lord, it is decided that the Pujā Paṇḍā and other Sevakas would receive their share as usual.

Question (7): How can the sale by Brahman Servants of food offerings to other servants of the temple be properly regulated?

Other servants complain that the food offerings sold to them by Brahman Servants are of inferior quality and cost more than the usual market rate. This is very bad of Brahmans. Brahman Servants thus harass other servants because there is competition between them and other servants in regard to the business with pilgrims. Therefore, it is decided that the Managing Committee of the Temple should see to it that the Brahman Servants do not henceforth harass other servants of the temple in the above manner.

Question (8): Are the Brahmans entitled to receive any share of the money given by pilgrims for food offering to the Lord?

If a pilgrim pays money to a Paṇḍā or pilgrim-guide and that person offers food to the Lord on behalf of his client, then according to the prevailing custom the Suāra who cooks the food should receive one-fourth share (for his labours).

If any servant violates the above rules then he will be punished by a fine of Rupees Fifty. If anyone creates trouble in the daily service of the temple he will be punished under Section 290 of the Criminal Procedure Code or any other section applicable to the particular case.

VIII

MISCELLANEOUS INFORMATION

A number of miscellaneous documents were secured in regard to services in the temple. These are now being presented here.

I. *An Old Record:*

(1) Title of Endowment (connected with either) the Hindu or Mussalman religion, place and name of Trustee (and specified) for service or for distribution of food to the destitute:

Sri Liṅgarāj Mahāprabhu, (resident of) Bhubaneswar, (in) Zillah Dandimal, Darjamahesh (?).

(2) Name of Donor: Maharajah (of Puri), as (recorded) in previous (settlement). Fort, Khurdah.

(3) Date of Donation: Date has not been recorded as the (original) deed of gift is missing.

In accordance with the order of Sahib (English officer) in the Jutaphasa (? Judge's Court), dated April 21, A.D. 1810, the (following) exemptions of Ṭanki (are recorded). Fort, Khurdah.

(4) Summary of deed of gift:

It appears that the desire of the donor was that the balance, left after meeting the expenses of food offering and of all other services in the temple in conformity with the current schedule, should be spent in gifts.

(5) Present condition of the assignment of land (made specifically for services as indicated below):

	māṇa	gunṭha	biswā
Land (for meeting expenses of Koṭhabhoga or General Offering. This is rent-free, lākharāj, in Zillah Dandimal, Mauza Bhubaneswar, situated adjacent to the kitchen	2,645	24	6
Assigned for other services to the deity	61	21	9
Zillah Dandimal, Mauza ×	361	24	7
do. ,, Besar Noagan	154	23	0
do. ,, Sundarapadā	478	16	4
do. ,, Sundarapadā .. .. .. (special ? allotment)	98	19	11
do. Mauza Bamikhāla	734	15	0
do. ,, ,, (special ? allotment) ..	6	14	10
do. ,, Rohanipaṛā, known as Gangadharpur	171	1	2
do. ,, Jaṭani Nuagan	1,023	9	2
Pergannah Kotha Raganga, Mauza Pāṭana	698	9	3
Pergannah Lambei, Mauza Amarānga	1,255	24	15
	8,350	4	5

(6) How much land has been maintained intact and how much confiscated:

Area intact			Area confiscated
māṇa	gunṭha	biswā	
8,350	4	5	0

(7) Collection from miscellaneous sources, other than from land:

	Rs.	as.	p.
Gifts and Pindaki (?), receipts during the Festival on the road (i.e. Car Festival); from sale of wood of the car and wooden raft (on which the image is carried during the Candan Yātra, Sandal Festival) ..	614	6	9
From (sale of ?) sacramental food every day, out of which the following allotments are first to be set aside: (i) The King's allotment to the monastery beside the bank in which the Sannyasi Sivananda Saraswati resides, which consists of the following from the Morning Meal: one vessel of kheceri, one kuṛuā of sweetmeat named mohani, one kuṛuā of rice; (ii) from the Midday Meal: one (round) vessel of rice, one plate of cooked moong pulses, one piece of sweetmeat named sara vasanta; (iii) similar allotments according to schedule set aside in favour of Servants (sevaka) and Clients (yajamāna) according to schedule	1,369	0	9
Extra (receipts ?)	8	0	8
	1,985	8	6½*

	Rs.	as.	p.
(8) Average receipt from gifts (calculated on the basis of five years)	2,833	14	7½
(Plus)	1,985	8	6½
	4,819	7	2

(9) Description of expenses on various heads, considered (to be) justifiable:

	Rs.	as.	p.
Purchase of firewood every day and articles necessary for the General Feast or Koṭha Bhoga @ Rs.6-10-3½ p. every day for a year	2,424	10	4
Miscellaneous expenses for service in Vallabha meal, etc., for a year	235	12	7½
One year's expenses for holding the Annual Festivals	1,017	0	1
Extra expenditure during festivals	354	9	2
For payment to Creditors supplying coloured cloth for decoration of the Car	132	6	6
For purchase of cloth for the Deity	62	8	0
Expenses for worship of (minor) deities outside the temple and those within the temple compound ..	161	14	9
Expenses for (purchase of) materials for worship	73	7	9
Expenses for purchasing (Section ?) materials connected with the General Meal—Koṭha Bhoga	0	10	3

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* The sums do not tally, but they have been left as they are in the original.

	Rs.	as.	p.
Commission (?)—Dastur	18	14	6
Expenses for the Cook—Suāra	241	15	1
Expenses for construction of Beharan pavilion ..	219	7	1
For uprooting plants which have grown in the temple precincts, for carrying away earth, purchase of straw (for thatching ?), sundry repairs ..	22	8	0
Pay of servants	582	15	9
Sundry expenses	10	6	0
Expenses during (Car) Festival on the Aśokāṣṭami Day	662	6	4½
Purchase of materials for building the Car and sundry expenses (connected with it)	529	15	10½

(10) Amount of difference between sum deposited and expended (?) .. .. nil

(11) Amount of adjustment made between assigned expenses and actual expenses, indicating either excess or deficit:

Excess	Deficit
nil	nil

(12) Present condition of assignments (for services which had been) made (in the past):

Condition is favourable (i.e. work is being carried on according to stipulation).

(13) (The question is) Is work carried out in terms of the conditions set during endowment ? If not, then what proportion of it is being employed for purposes out of schedule ?

The terms are not being carried out in practice. The allotment was made in the month of Virgo in the year 1275 (1868 A.D.) for meeting the expenses of the General Meal (Koṭha Bhoga). Only half the amount is being offered (now). The assignment was made when things were cheap. (That is now being spent only for feeding) about 300 persons per year (?) now.

(14) What is the custom regarding the appointment of a Manager or Trustee, (permanently) or temporarily ?

The Parichā—Superintendent of the temple is not to be reckoned along with others placed in charge (of specific services). He alone is *the* Servant (?). The Government or a Committee appointed by the Government is authorized to remove (him) or appoint a new man if (he) does not work properly.

At present there is no Parichā—Superintendent. An Amin-Commissioner now carries on the work on behalf of the (Managing) Committee.

(15) Not necessary. (The appointment of a Parichā—Superintendent ?).

(16) (The question is) How has the endowment made in 1863 A.D. actually worked out (a term '20 mokatakaji' has been left untranslated) ?

On account of disputes between the former Parichā—Superintendent and Brahmans (on the one hand) and Baṛu—servants on the other, the temple (services) were in a bad state. There were no offerings to the Deity for about a year.

Daily services are being (regularly) carried on now under the supervision of the members of the present Committee. In future similar Committees must be entrusted (with the task of management).

(17) Comments:

The present condition of the temple (affairs) is prosperous. It is good, particularly because of the supervision of the Tahsildar of Khurda.

CERTIFIED TO BE A TRUE COPY

(*Sd.*) DEBENDRANATH DAS

30-8-1901

Head Clerk and Serishtadar

AUTHORIZED UNDER SECTION 76(I) OF 1872

II. *Distribution of Cooking Ranges:*

The right of cooking food offerings to Liṅgarāj in the kitchen is considered precious and there are Settlement Records in which the right of different persons or families is accurately recorded. It may be pointed out here that the ovens are like long trenches running parallel to one another, in which there are seats in which cooking vessels are seated; each of these may be treated as one oven. There are many lines of ovens within the kitchen itself. A record dated 14th June, 1899, states accurately what length of these trench-like ovens or cooking ranges is in possession of different persons for purposes of cooking. These tables copied from the Records preserved in the Settlement Office at Khurda in the district of Puri are given below:

COPY OF SETTLEMENT RECORD

DATED 14TH JUNE, 1899

Bhaunria or Palm-leaf Record of Rights, No. 276.

Mauza—Bhubaneswar.
Pargana—Dandimal, District Puri, Fort, Khurda.
The property of the Lord Liṅgarāj.
Tauzi No. 1/146 Mahal.
Sri Liṅgarāj Mahāprabhu.
c/o Krutibas Das and other members of the Committee.

Tailatala $\frac{911\ \text{N}}{3397\ \text{S}}$ } Courtyard.

Ac. 0–110 Rosaghar (kitchen room) 0–110 Acres.

In the remark column:

Here Kothabhoga piṭhā culi (oven in which cakes are prepared) one; and Arna culi (oven in which rice is cooked) one. C/o Krutibas Das and members of the Committee and Sachidananda Saraswati Swāmi:

	Belongs to	Total length occupied by ovens in cubits	No. of actual ovens within this length
1.	Sachidananda Saraswati Swāmi:	7½	2
2.	On the south, Mahāsuāra of Dakkhiṇa Bāṛa:	7¾	5
3.	Cakra Mahāpātra and Dāma Mahāpātra:	3	2
4.	Bainsi Mahāpātra and Madhu Mahāpātra and Rāma Mahāpātra, etc.:	×	1
5.	Bhagabān Mahāpātra:	1	1
6.	Nidhi Mahāpātra (Member of Pancuāti) and Krushna Mahāpātra and Padalāva Mahāpātra (Member of Pancuāti):	2	2
7.	Ratnākar Mahāpātra and Natabar Mahāpātra and Narasingh Mahāpātra and Vairāgi Mahāpātra:	1½	1
8.	Maheswar Mahāsuāra:	1	1
9.	(On the south) Raghu Mahāsuāra and Lokanāth Mahāsuāra and Dharamu Mahāsuāra:	1	1
10.	(On the west) Pujā Paṇḍā Bhāskar Mahāpātra and Dharamu Mahāpātra and Guru Mahāpātra:	2	2
11.	(On the west) Uttara Bāṛa Mahāsuāra: Dāma Paṇḍā and Kālandi Paṇḍā and Gopi Paṇḍā and Sauri Paṇḍā and Bisi Paṇḍā and Raghu Paṇḍā	6	5
12.	Bhagabān Mahāsuāra and Sabar Mahāsuāra:	1	1
13.	(On the west) Chakradhar Garābaṛu and Banamāli Garābaṛu and Syām Garābaṛu:	1	1
14.	(To the west) Bhāskar Garābaṛu and Bhagi Garābaṛu and Nidhi Garābaṛu and Parasu Garābaṛu and Narasingh Garābaṛu, etc.:	1½	1
15.	Mārkanda Garābaṛu and Bhikhāri Garābaṛu and Ānanda Garābaṛu and Kane Garābaṛu:	1	1
16.	Dāma Garābaṛu and Jagannāth and Rāma Garābaṛu:	2½	1
17.	Ratnākar and Raghu Garābaṛu:	1	1
18.	Nanda Sangitra and Cakra Sangitra:	2	1
19.	(On the west) Dhanapati and others:	1	1
20.	(On the west) Sauri Nāik and others:	1	1
21.	(On the west) Bhikhāri Nāik and Ram Nāik and others:	1	1
22.	Bāuri and Nidhi and Madhu Nāik:	1	1
23.	Bholi Paṇḍā and Dinabandhu Paṇḍā and Madhu Paṇḍā, etc.:	1	1
24.	Mādhab Paṇḍā and others:	1	1
25.	Ananta Mahāpātra and others:	1	1
26.	Ādikāṇḍa Mahāpātra and Dhuli Mahāpātra:	1	1
27.	Cakra and Banamāli and Syām Garābaṛu:	1	1
28.	(On the west) Nidhi, Alekha, Bānambar and Sattir:	5	5
29.	(On the west) Krupāsindhu Mahāpātra:	2	1
30.	Ādikāṇḍa and Dhuli Mahāpātra:	1	1
31.	Hari Bewā (widow):	1	1
32.	Hari, Balarām Mahāpātra and others:	1	1
33.	(On the west) Mārkaṇḍa Mahāpātra:	1	1
34.	(On the west) Kanei Mahāpātra and another:	?	?
35.	Gadei Mahāpātra and Jemi Bewā (widow):	3	3

Belongs to	Total length occupied by ovens in cubits	No. of actual ovens within this length
36. Phakir Mahāpātra and Basu Mahāpātra:	$\frac{3}{4}$	Nil
37. Dharamu and Ganesh Mahāpātra:	2	1
38. Somanāth and Alokha Mahāpātra:	$1\frac{1}{8}$	$\frac{3}{4}$
39. Satyabādi Paramaguru:	$1\frac{3}{8}$	$1\frac{1}{4}$
40. Somanāth and Alekha Mahāpātra:	$1\frac{1}{2}$	1
41. Somanāth Mahāpātra's eight annas (1/2) share and Sadei Mahāpātra's eight annas (1/2) share:	3	$1\frac{1}{2}$
42. (On the north) Gadei and Nidhi Mahāpātra (official right):	4	3
43. Parasu and others and Bainsi Mahāpātra and others:	$3\frac{3}{4}$	2
44. Gadei and Narasingh Mahāpātra:	2	2
45. Nidhi Mahāpātra, Ānanda Mahāpātra and Sabar Mahāpātra and Padalābha Mahāpātra and Lokanāth Mahāpātra:	7	3
46. Belonging to the (Trustees' Office):	$4\frac{1}{2}$	Nil
47. Nārāna Mahāpātra and Bhagabān Mahāpātra:	$2\frac{1}{2}$	Nil

Finally attested by the A.S.O. on 22nd January, 1899.
(*Sd.*) Illegible.

Order sheet—Mauza Bhubaneswar, Zillah Dandimal.
Bāuribandhu Mahāsuāra and others at Bhubaneswar, Zillah Dandimal .. Plaintiffs
Liṅgarāj Mahāprabhu .. Defendant

Amin's fee of Rs.1-6-0 deposited. Amin to enquire and report.

(*Sd.*) J. DUTTA
A.S.O.
3-5-1899.

No. 210 D.B.

In the Decennial settlement Bhaunria (*Palm-leaf Record of Rights*), No. 1283. (Temple Compound 14-12-4) it has been stated that plaintiffs have 66 bakharās or shares and odd of the store-room (Saraghara or Bhandara) for keeping amāniā such as rice, dal and vegetables, etc. These store-rooms were pulled down when the rice-offerings of the Deity was stopped, i.e. about four years ago; but the ruins still exist. It is essential for storage of articles of food-offerings to allow the plaintiffs a place for building a store-room within the temple compound. It is therefore ordered that the old record of rights should be respected, but a note in the remark column of the record (Khasrā) be made that the persons who had 66 bakharās and odd of (land ?) according to the Decennial Settlement records are at liberty to build such store-rooms where they existed during the Decennial Settlement, provided they will be thatched with earthen tiles or corrugated iron sheets, as it will be ugly to have thatched houses within the temple compound.

(*Sd.*) J. DUTTA
14-6-1899.

Certified to be a true copy
DWARAKANATH BOSE 12-9-1899
Head Clerk, Khurda Settlement Office
Authorized under Section 76, Act I of 1877*

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* In the previous record, it is Section 76 (I) of 1872. There was probably a mistake somewhere when the copy was made by the servants of the temple from Settlement Records.

III. *Distribution of Clients:*

An arrangement which prevails among the Baṛu Servants is to distribute among themselves by mutual agreement pilgrims coming from various parts of India. A list of the places assigned to families, which are being given numerical denotation, is appended below. The information was obtained by means of interview.

JEJMAN ESTATES AS DISTRIBUTED AMONG THE BAṚU SEVAKAS

Families	Names of places
1, 2, 3, 4	Bikaner, Bengal: Muktagacha (Raja's family), Raja Rajendra Mallik's family in Chorbagan, Jaypur, Jodhpur and one-eighth of Ranpur (Orissa).
5	Ranpur -/2/- annas or one-eighth, (some from) Hindusthan and some from Calcutta.
6	Kanika, Kujanga and Dhenkanal.
7, 8, 9	Kalahandi, Ranchi, Sundergarh, Gangpur, some Marwari and Bengali pilgrims are also served by No. 9.
10	Khalikota, Angul, Parikud, Raja of Chandrapur and Khandapara Estate.
11, 12	Daspalla, Khandapara, Angul, Khallikota, Gumsur, Berhampur and half of Ranpur.
13, 14, 15	Athgarh, Soroda, (some from) Calcutta are served by family No. 13 only.
16, 17, 18, 19	Sonepur, Baud, Bolangirpatna, Berhampur, Sambalpur, some Marwari and Bengali pilgrims.
20, 21	Whole of Berhampur.
22	Talcher, Bonai and Aul, some in Bihar and Bengal also.
23, 24	Danpara State.
25	Banki in Orissa. Some pilgrims from Hindusthan.
26	Banki.
27	Ranpur, one-fourth share, some Marwari and Bengali pilgrims.
28, 29	Baramba, Narasinghpur and Surguja.
30	(She) gets a share from 28 and 29.
31	Jaipur, Cuttack, Bhadrak, Baleswar, Barua Haripur, Soro, also some Hindusthani and Bengali pilgrims.
32, 33	Kashmir, Marwari and Bengali pilgrims, Soro in Cuttack, Nilgiri Panda of Jawaharlal Nehru.
34	Kharswan, Seraikella, some Bengali pilgrims, Singhbhum and Tigiria Raja.
35	No Estate.
36	Bengali and Marwari pilgrims, Ranchi and Gangpur.
37	Gangpur, Sundergarh, Ranchi, also some Bengali and Marwari pilgrims.
38	Ranchi, Magea or Magahia of Bihar and some Marwari pilgrims.
39, 40, 41	Hindusthani, Bihar, Bengal and Kendrapara.
42 and 43	Nayagarh and Bengal.

It has to be gratefully acknowledged at the end that the expenses of this investigation were borne in 1955-56 by the late Professor Robert Redfield, Robert Maynard Hutchins Distinguished Service Professor of the University of Chicago, out of funds placed at his disposal by the Ford Foundation.—AUTHORS.

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SOME JAINA ANTIQUITIES FROM BANKURA, WEST BENGAL

By Debala Mitra

In course of my official tours I came across some interesting Jaina relics in the district of Bankura, which, I feel, should be brought to the notice of scholars, as Jaina images are generally considered to be very rare in Bengal proper.[1] Apparently this area had been a stronghold of the Digambara sect of the Jainas, as all the images of the *tīrthaṅkaras* noticed by me were nude. Another reason for my drawing the attention of scholars to these medieval Jaina remains is that some of them will be submerged when the Kangsabati Dam Project of the West Bengal Government is completed. It is desirable that at least the better preserved sculptural and architectural pieces described here should be removed to a place of safety in order that they may be studied further by future scholars.

Ambikanagar (lat. 22° 56′; long. 86° 46′).—The village (in Ranibandh P.S.) is situated on the confluence of the Kangsabati and Kumari, 36 miles south-west of Bankura railway station. It is readily approachable by bus which stops at Gorabari on the northern bank of the Kangsabati. From the bus-terminus to the village, which is on the southern bank, the distance is only one mile, negotiable on foot.

The village owes its name to its presiding deity, Ambikā, who is now worshipped in a modern brick temple, built over the ruined plinth of an earlier stone temple. Unfortunately I could not have a full view of the image (ht. 4½′) due to the priests' refusal to remove the drapings with which they have covered it. The face is obliterated by successive coats of vermilion. Lavishly bejewelled, the image seems to be two-armed, one hand broken and the other touching the head of a small figure. On either side is an attendant, the one on the right being pot-bellied. The mount below the feet looks like a lion. The upper part of the back-slab is missing, but in the extant part are, in compartments, rows of figures in different poses, some dancing. The fragment of the right top corner of a sculpture (Pl. I A), which now lies outside this temple, seems to have formed part of this image. In this piece (extant ht. 1′ 6″) is to be seen a portion of the oval halo with branches of the mango-tree above, crowned by a group of musicians and dancers; below the pendent mangoes are couples in two rows, some of them distinguished for their animal- and bird-heads.

The deity, though worshipped as a Brahmanical goddess, is thus Ambikā, the *śāsana-devī* of the twentysecond *tīrthaṅkara* Neminātha.

Immediately at the back of the temple of Ambikā is a ruined sandstone temple standing to a height of 11′ 8″ (Pls. I B and II), originally Jaina but now appropriated for the worship of the Brahmanical god Śiva. The temple, with its missing *śikhara*, resembles architectonically the Salleśvara and Sāḍeśvara temples of Dihar[2] and may belong to the same period, i.e., eleventh century A.D. or even earlier.

Like the Orissan temples, its *bāḍa* has different divisions—*pābhāga*, *jāṅgha* and *baraṇḍa*. Built on a low narrow platform (*upāna*), the *pābhāga* consists of the four lowermost mouldings, *khurā*, *kumbha*, *khurā* and inverted

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[1] R. D. Banerji, *Eastern School of Mediaeval Sculpture* (Delhi, 1933), p. 144.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 150.

khurā, the last two relieved at intervals with heart-shaped motifs. The north, west and south sides of the *jāṅgha* are relieved with six pilasters, three on either side of the central projection, the last containing a niche, meant for the *pārśva-devatās* (no longer existing). The pilasters are plain except for the two mouldings, *khurā* and inverted *khurā* at the base and the top. The *baraṇḍa* is a projected moulding, the recess over which, demarcating the *bāḍa* from the *śikhara*, is crowned by a series of mouldings forming the *śikhara* of the temple. Five of these mouldings are now extant.

The central projection on the front (east) side is thicker than the rest and in it is provided the entrance. The door-opening is spanned at the top by five inconspicuous corbels capped by a lintel, the last extending to the entire width of the central projection.

The temple is *tri-ratha* on plan, its inside 4′ 2½″ square. The thickness of the walls is 2′ 1″, so that the outer sides are exactly double the inner sides. The interior of the temple corbels inwards up to the *garbha-muda* (lowermost ceiling of the sanctum), which is formed of two stone slabs. There was at least one more cell over the *garbha-muda*, approach to which was provided by a narrow opening above the lintel of the door.

The *liṅga* within the temple is of modern installation. The temple was most probably dedicated to Ṛishabhanātha, whose image (ht. 3′ 2″; br. 1′ 6″) now lies by the side of the *liṅga*.

The image (Pl. III A) is a fine piece of sculpture and may be referred to a date not later than the eleventh century. The central figure, remarkable for its beautiful facial expression and *jaṭā-mukuṭa*, stands against a throne in the usual *kāyotsarga* pose on a double-petalled lotus, below which is his characteristic *lāñchhana*, bull, between two devotees. On either side of his legs is a standing attendant, wearing ornaments and loin-cloth. Over his head is a canopy of a succession of gradually diminishing *chhatras*, flanked by a flying couple holding garlands. Over the *chhatra* are two pairs of hands playing on musical instruments. The back-slab is relieved with miniature figures of twentyfour *tīrthaṅkaras*, arranged in twelve rows of two each. Like the principal image, they also stand in *kāyotsarga* pose, with their respective cognizances carved below each.

Inside the temple, above the lintel of the door, was found the head of a Jaina *tīrthaṅkara*. His spirally-curled hairs are arranged in a top knot at the centre of his head.

Near the temple was found, lying under a tree, another image of a *tīrthaṅkara*, now headless (extant ht. 1′ 7″).

That the village was a thriving Jaina centre is proved by the existence of a few more mutilated Jaina images. Two of them, one headless and the other fairly complete, are now in worship in the house of a local villager.

Chitgiri.—Immediately opposite Ambikanagar is Chitgiri, situated on the north bank of the Kangsabati at its confluence with Kumari. Here existed once a red sandstone temple, now denuded completely beyond recognition. Two images, one of *ekamukha-liṅga* and the other of a *tīrthaṅkara* (Pl. III B), are now lying over the scanty remains. The latter (ht. 1′ 11″) stands in *kāyotsarga* pose on a double-petalled lotus with an attendant on either side of his legs. The back-slab is relieved with four more *tīrthaṅkaras*, in the same pose, and two flying figures at top corners. The cognizance below the pedestal looks like a deer; the image may, therefore, be of the sixteenth *tīrthaṅkara* Śāntinātha. The date of the image seems to be earlier than that of Ṛishabhanātha at Ambikanagar.

Barkola.—About 2½ miles east of Ambikanagar is the village of Barkola, where once stood a Jaina temple, made of bricks. Forces of nature, aided by the vandalism of man, have brought about virtually a complete destruction of the temple. Recently, its foundation has also been disturbed by brick-hunters. What remains now is a low heap of brick-bats, which does not afford even a rough idea about its plan or general form. Some of these bricks have been utilized in the renovation of an old well, which was probably contemporary with the temple.

From the ruins, a local person has collected (1) a stone pedestal, (2) three stone complete images, (3) two monolithic miniature votive shrines, and (4) the pedestal-portion of a stone Jaina image.

Of the three Jaina images, the female one (ht. 1′ 5″; br. 9½″) is Ambikā (Pl. III C). With her right leg slightly bent, she stands on a lotus, below which is her cognizance, lion. Clad in a finely-carved *sārī* and a scarf, she is gracefully decorated with sparse but elegant ornaments—*mekhalā*, armlets, bracelets, a necklace and ear-rings. Her hanging left hand is held by a child. On her right side is a standing female figure. Over her head are the branches of a tree (mango), and in the centre immediately above her coiffure is a seated miniature figure of her Jina, Neminātha.

The other two images (Pl. IV A) are identical with each other in size (5″ × 6″). Each depicts a *tīrthaṅkara*, standing in *kāyotsarga*, on a lotus flanked by an attendant. The cognizance of one is indistinct and that of the other is a *makara* or elephant, thus indicating either Suvidhinātha or Ajitanātha.

Of the two miniature shrines, one is reported to have been removed about three years back by one Mr. Bhaduri, a Kanungo of the locality. The other (ht., without tenon, 1′ 2½″) is in a perfect state of preservation (Pls. IV B, IV C, V A and V B). Commonly known as *chaturmukha* or *chaumukha*, it depicts on each of its four faces the figure of a *tīrthaṅkara* within a trefoil-arched niche. All of them are shown in identical posture and stand in *kāyotsarga* pose on a double-petalled lotus. The cognizances of Ṛishabhanātha, Chandraprabha and Śāntinātha, namely bull, moon and deer, are easily recognizable. The symbol of the fourth is not distinct: it is either a crab or a lotus.

The importance of this monolithic shrine lies in its providing a rough idea about the architectonic shape and general features of the extinct temple. A specimen of the North Indian *rekha* type, it consists of a perpendicular *bāḍa*, *tri-ratha* on plan, with two mouldings for *pābhāga*, a *pañcha-paga* *śikhara*, made of a series of gradually diminishing *khurā*-shaped mouldings, and a high cylindrical neck, over which rests a disproportionately broad *āmalaka*, crowned by a *stūpa*-shaped finial.

The pedestal (ht. 8″) contains one foot of a *tīrthaṅkara*; a *ghaṭa* is shown below, from which issue two *nāgī* figures. The image was thus of Pārśvanātha. To judge from the extant part, it was of a fairly large size and might have formed the main image of the temple.

Pareshnath.—Two miles north-west of Ambikanagar is Pareshnath on the north bank of the Kumari. The village is no doubt named after the shrine of the twentythird *tīrthaṅkara* Pārśvanātha. The temple, made of red sandstone, is now reduced to a mere plinth. The masonry was dry, the stones being kept in position by means of iron dowels and cramps. On the plinth lies the image of Pārśvanātha, now in three fragments (Pls. V C, VI and VII A), a deplorable prey to the wanton damage caused by the local people. Its execution is bold and of fine workmanship. The total height of the image, without tenon, is 6′ 8½″. The *tīrthaṅkara* stands in *kāyotsarga* pose on a *viśva-padma* under a seven-hooded canopy of a serpent, the latter's coil carved on the back-slab. On either side of his legs is an attendant standing on a lotus with a kneeling devotee in front. On the back-slab are miniature figures, two in each row, of twentyfour *tīrthaṅkaras*, also standing in *kāyotsarga* pose on lotuses placed on pedestals and relieved with their respective cognizances. On the two bottom corner-facets are a *nāga* and *nāgī* by the side of a lion. Over the serpent-hood is his *kevala*-tree with a flying figure holding a garland at the corners. The pedestal, measuring 5′ 7½″ × 2′ 11″ × 8½″, with a socket for holding the tenon of the image, now lies near the largest fragment of the image.

Pareshnath and the contiguous area to the extent of one mile contains ruins of a number of religious edifices which bespeak the affluence and eminence once enjoyed by this site. In the hey-day of its glory it was a great religious centre, its importance and significance being further enhanced by the existence, side by side with Jaina religion, of the five principal Brahmanical cults—Saura, Śākta, Śaiva, Vaishṇava and Gāṇapatya.

Chiada.—Almost immediately opposite Pareshnath is Chiada on the south bank of the Kumari. At the western end of the village, not far from the river bank, are three sculptures lying in the open. None of them is *in situ*. One of them represents the figure of a *tīrthaṅkara* (extant ht. 11½″, without tenon) flanked by an attendant on either side of his legs (Pl. VII B). On the right side of the back-slab is the smaller figure of another *tīrthaṅkara*. The sculpture is greatly abraded, with the result that the cognizance is unidentifiable.

Kendua.—On the bank of the Kangsabati, half a mile from the village of Kendua and seven miles north of Ambikanagar, once flourished a Jaina establishment, the edifices of which are now reduced to the last stage of decay and disintegration. The ruins here include, among other objects, the plinth (Pl. VIII) measuring 14′ 2½″ square and the *khurā* (ht. 8″) moulding of the *pābhāga* portion of a sandstone temple, *tri-ratha* on plan, each side measuring 9′ 10″. The stones of the dry ashlar masonry are held in position by iron cramps and dowels. The front face of the plinth shows a central projection. The plinth, together with the foundations and footings, is partly exposed to a height of 4′ 2″. The temple faced north-east and had in front a *maṇḍapa*, of which hardly anything exists now.

The whole area is strewn with lithic architectural fragments, mostly plain. The carved pieces include fragments of huge *āmalakas*, *khapuri*, *khurā*-shaped stones and door-jambs. A large number of the stones have been recently utilized in the construction of an oblong roofless structure for the enshrinement of a *liṅga*. The door-jamb (Pl. IX), now lying against this structure, is relieved in three compartments, the outermost band with lotus-petals, the middle one with square panels filled in with floral patterns and the innermost with two pairs of entwined serpents.

Near the stone temple is a complex of ruined brick structures, of which no plan can be made out without excavation.

The stone temple was most probably dedicated to Pārśvanātha, as an image of that *tīrthaṅkara* (Pl. X), standing in *kāyotsarga* pose on a lotus, now lies near it. The upper portion of the image, along with the head, is missing. On each side of the feet is a three-hooded *nāgī*, the left one holding a *ghaṭa*; beyond them is a standing attendant holding a *chaurī*. On either side of the stela are depicted *tīrthaṅkaras*, three in each row. Near the image lie tiny fragments (torso, leg, etc.) of other images.[1]

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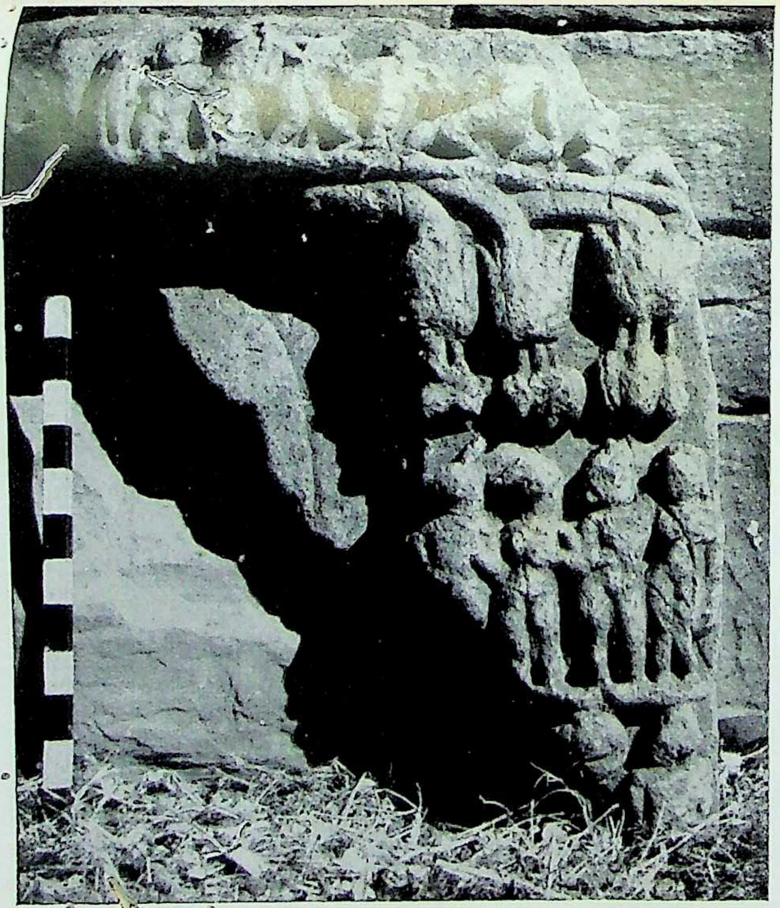
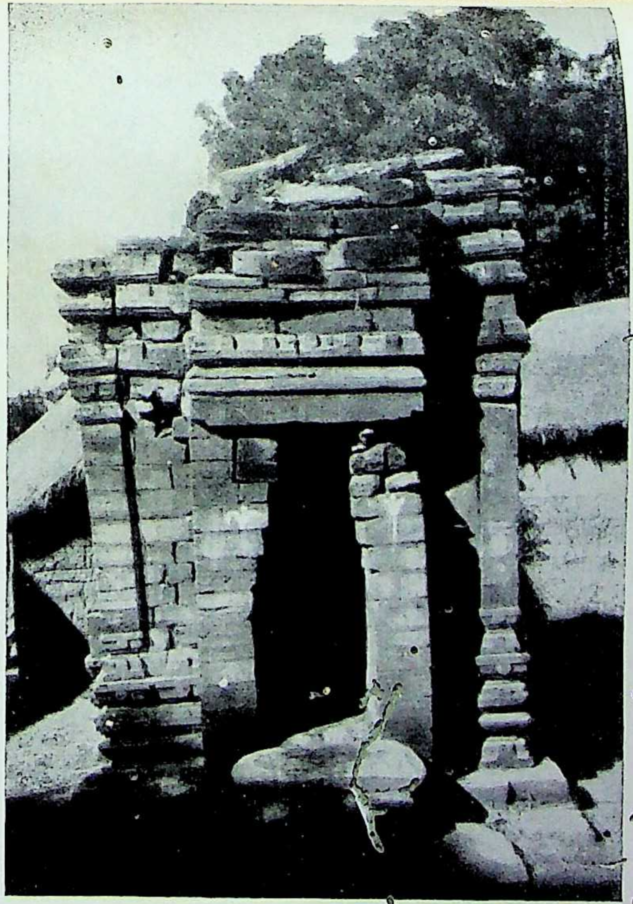
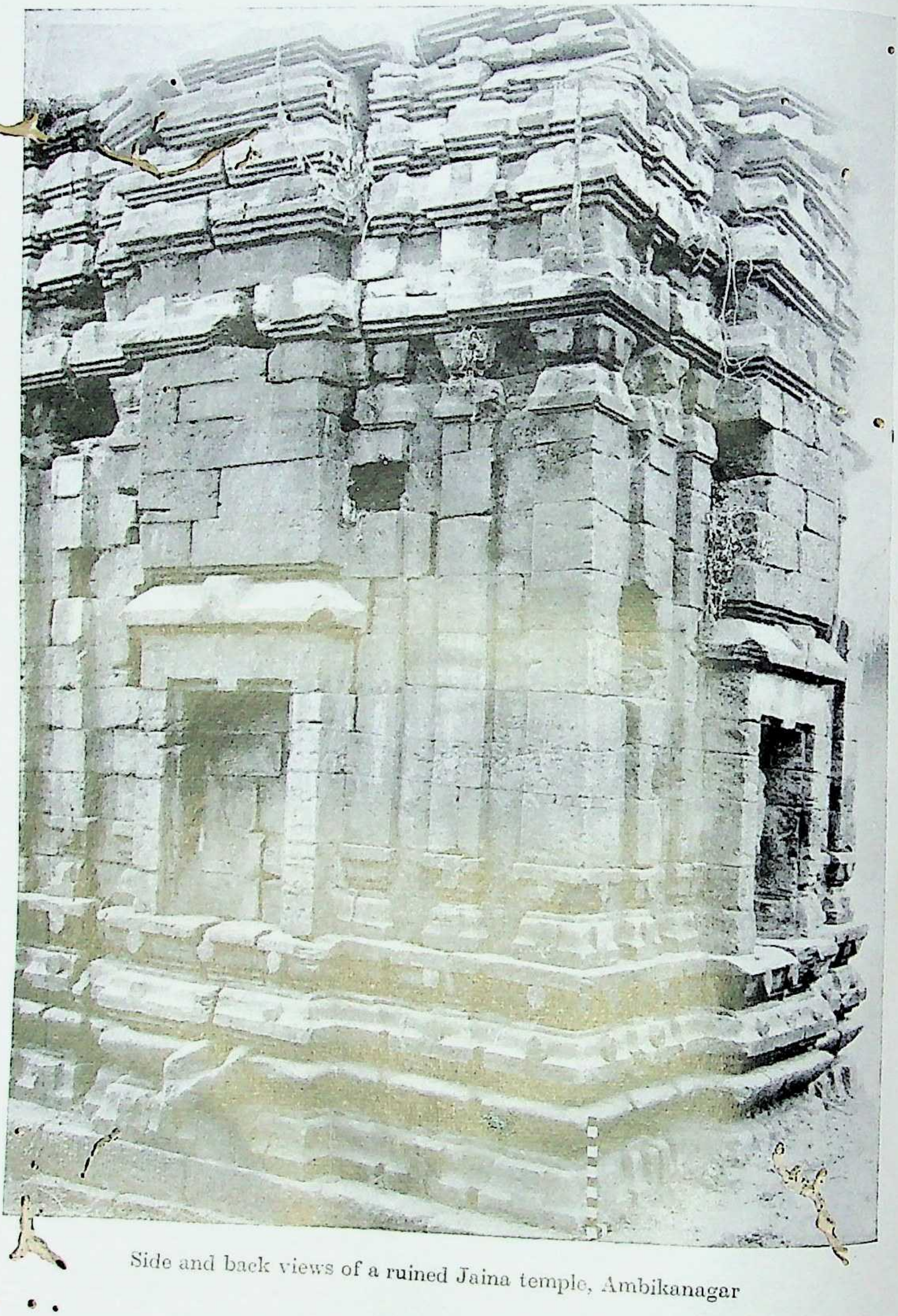
[1] The photographs reproduced here are the copyright of the Department of Archaeology, Government of India.



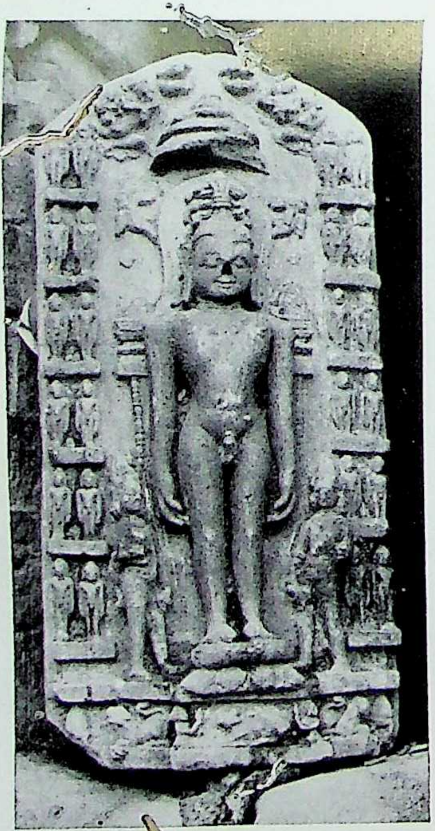
A. Fragment of an image of Ambikā, Ambikanagar



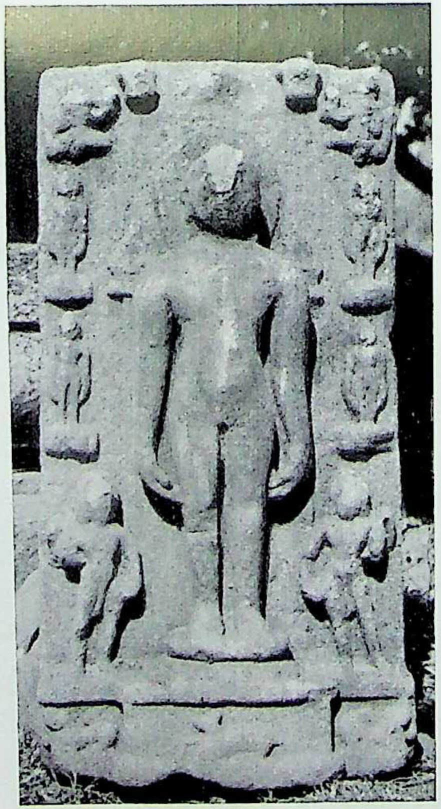
B. Front view of a ruined Jaina temple, Ambikanagar



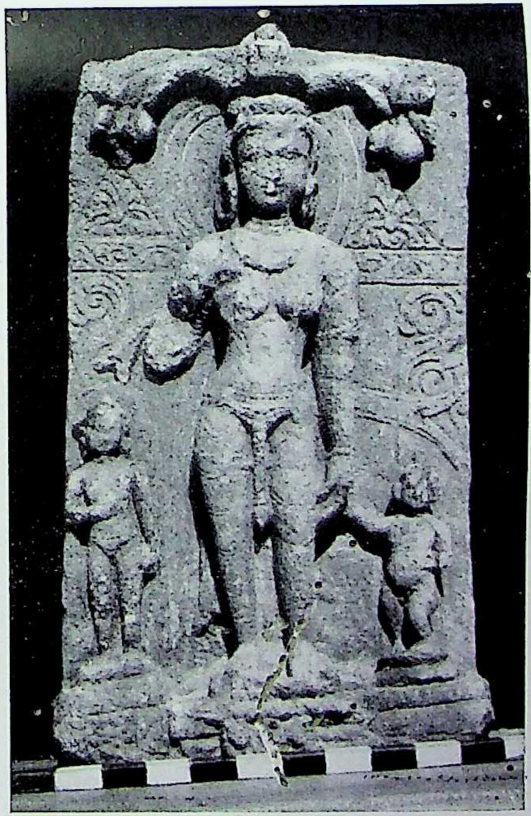
Side and back views of a ruined Jaina temple, Ambikanagar



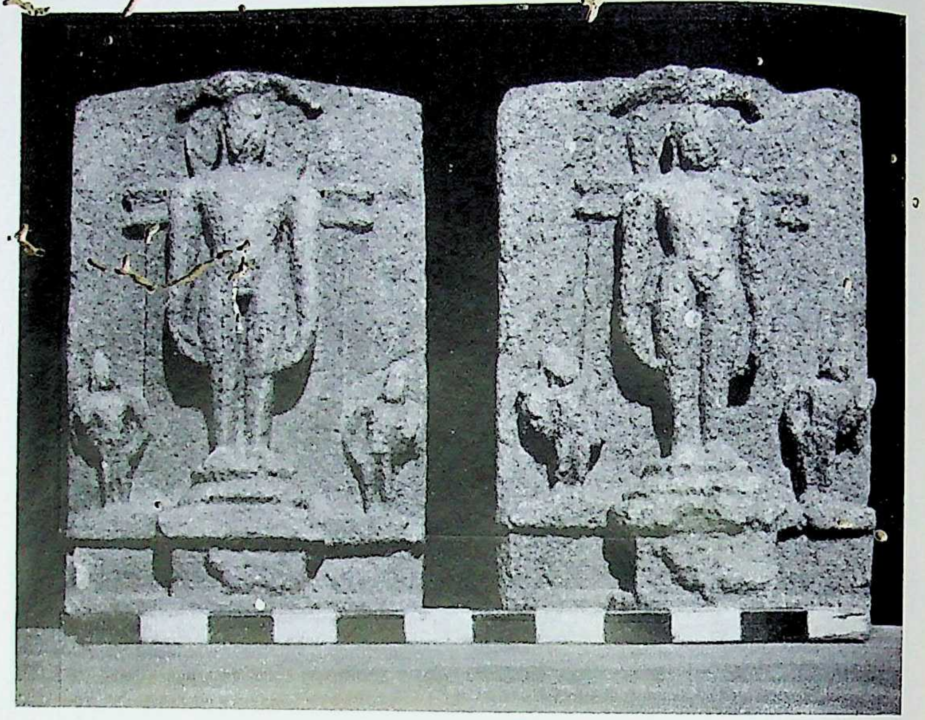
A. Rishabhanātha, Ambikanagar



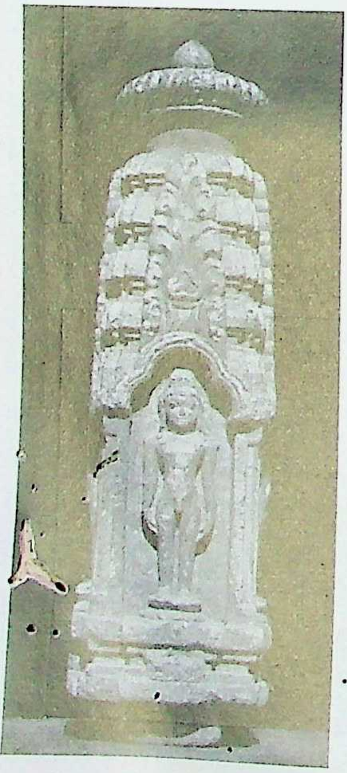
B. Śāntinātha (?), Chitgiri



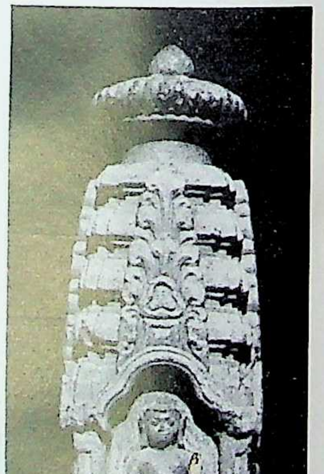
C. Ambikā, [illegible]rkola



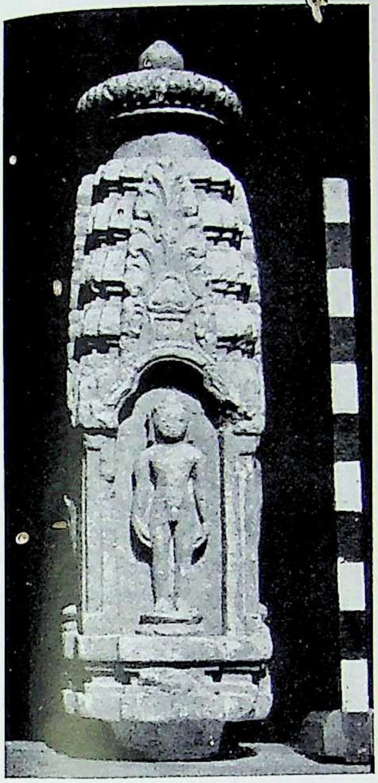
A. Jaina *tīrthaṅkaras*, Barkola



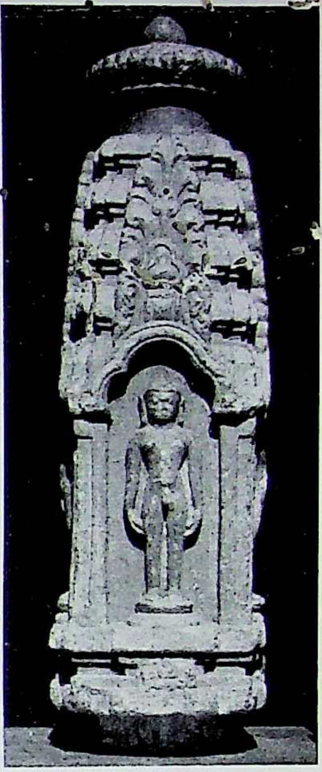
B. Miniature shrine, Barkola



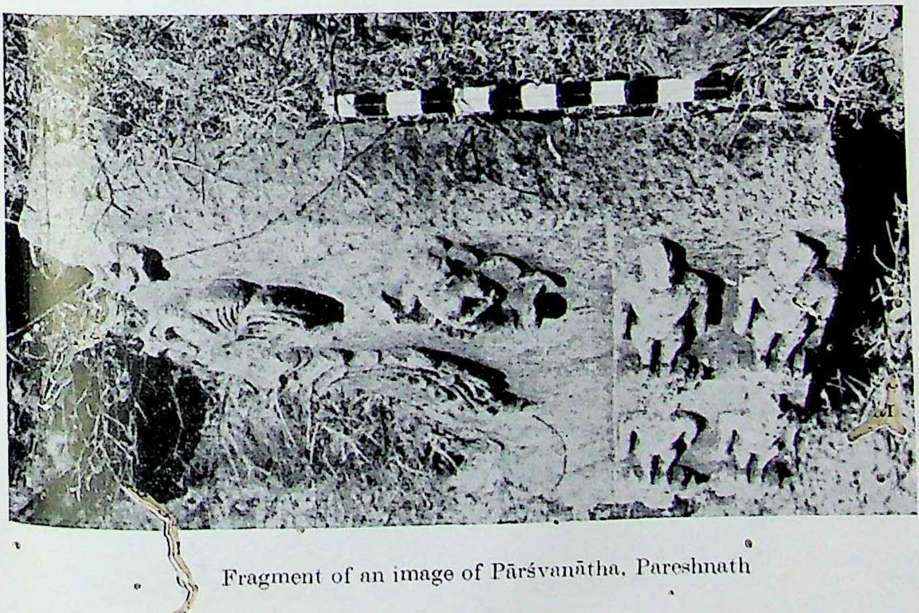
C. Miniature shrine, Barkola



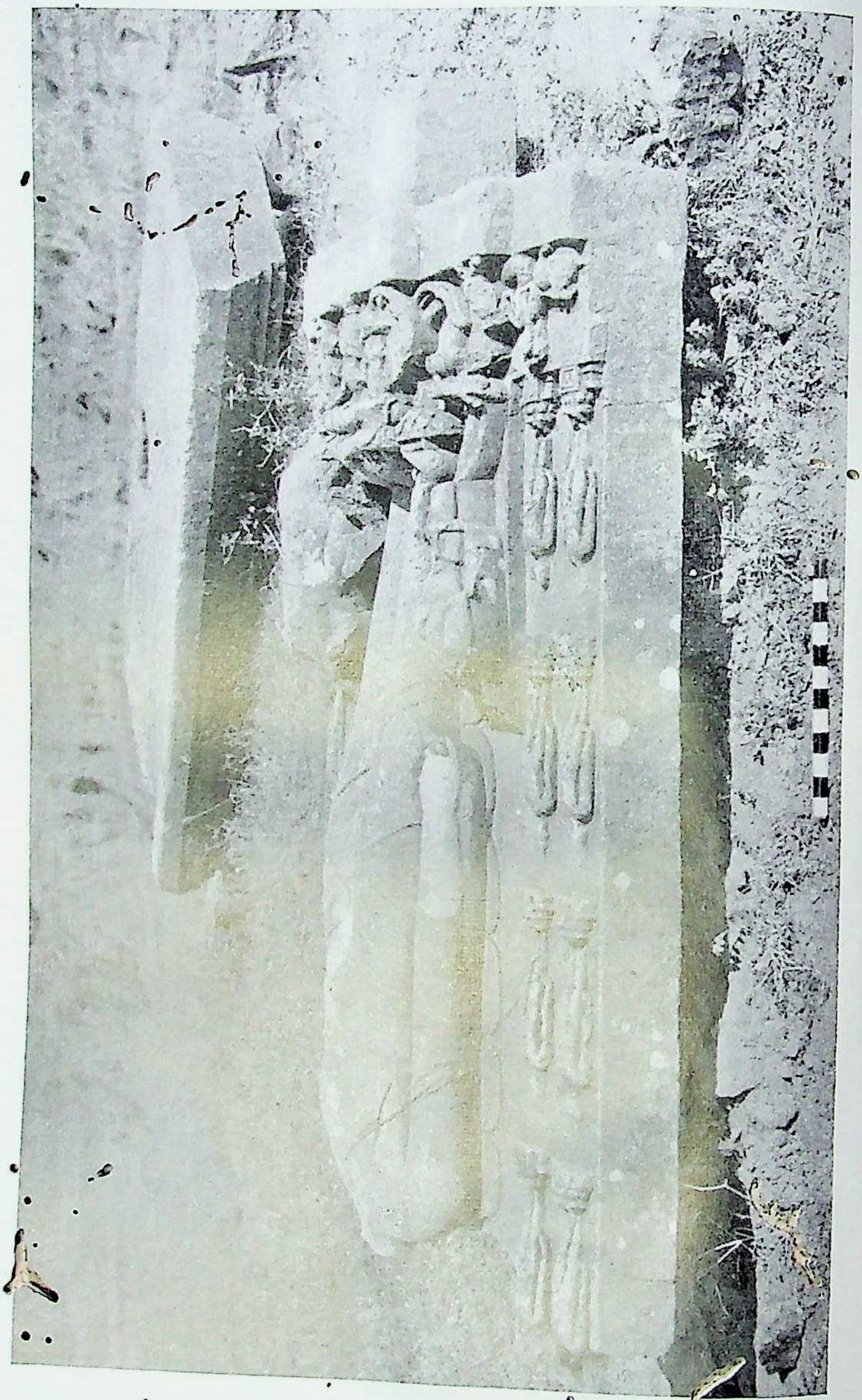
A. Miniature shrine, Barkola



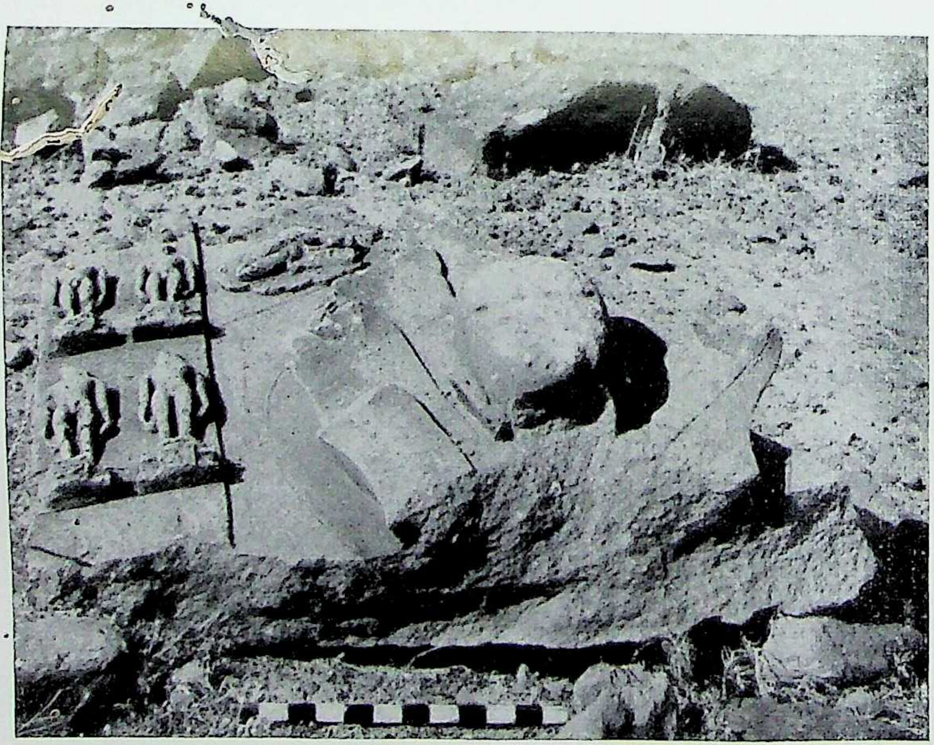
B. Miniature shrine, Barkola



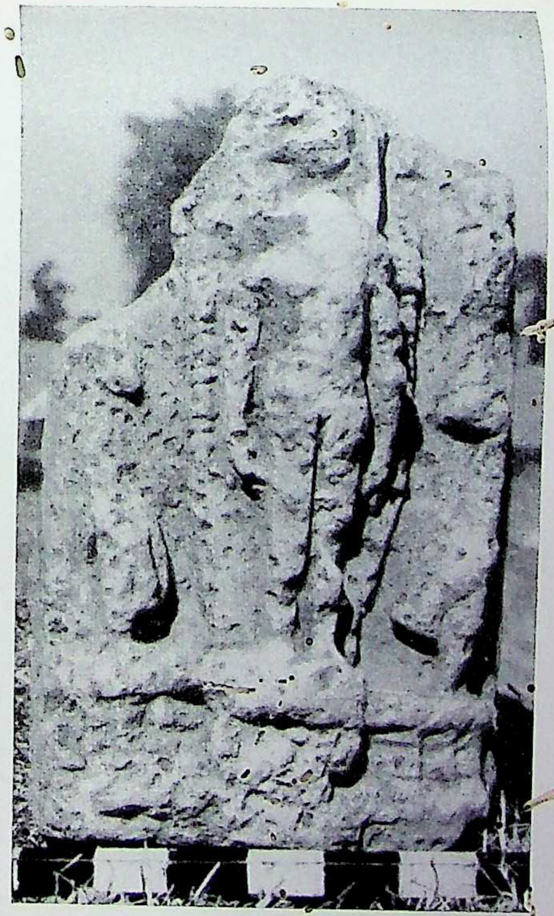
Fragment of an image of Pārśvanātha, Pareshnath



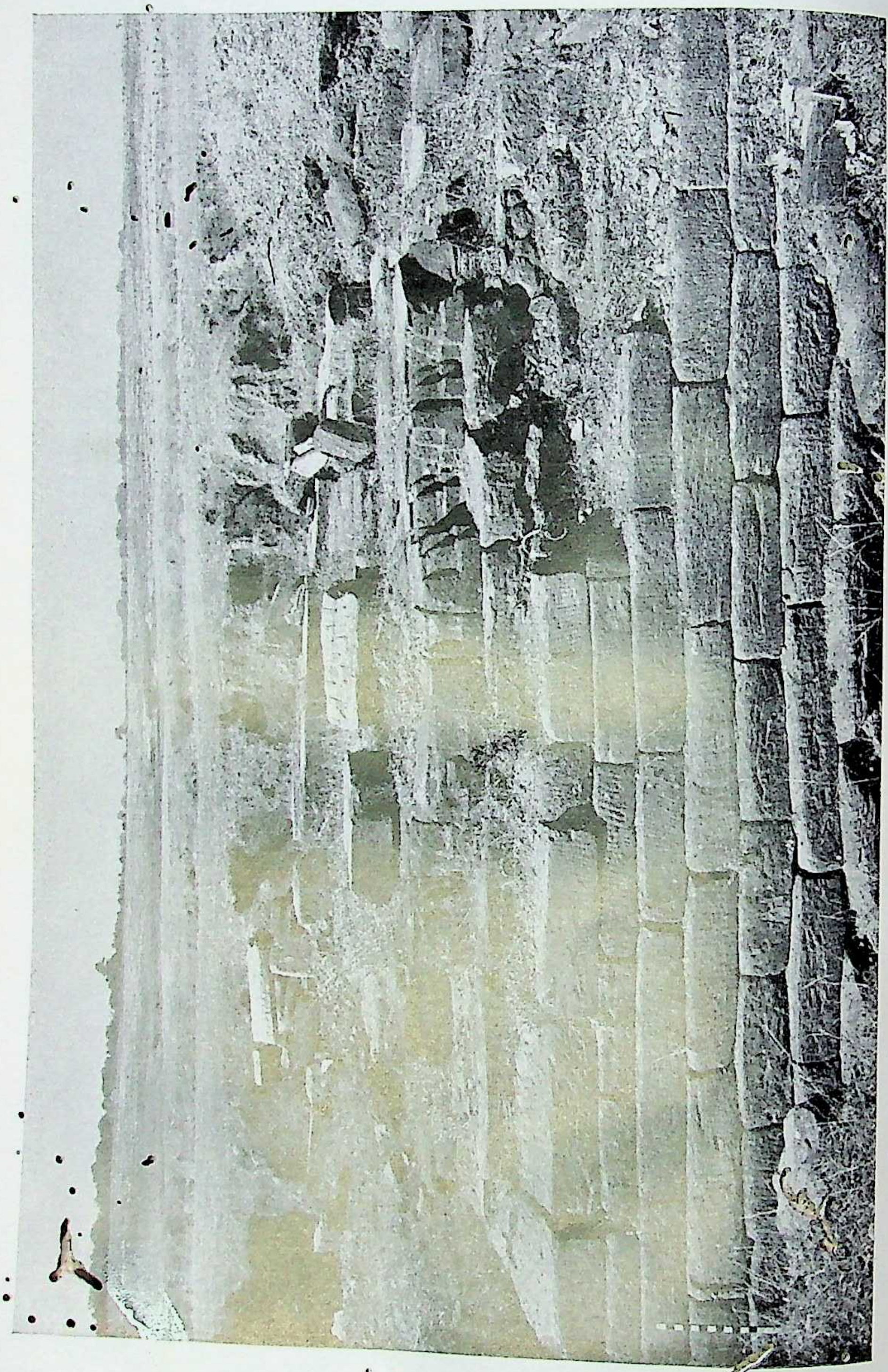
Fragment of an image of Pārśvanātha, Pareshnath



A. Fragment of an image of Pārśvanātha, Pareshnath

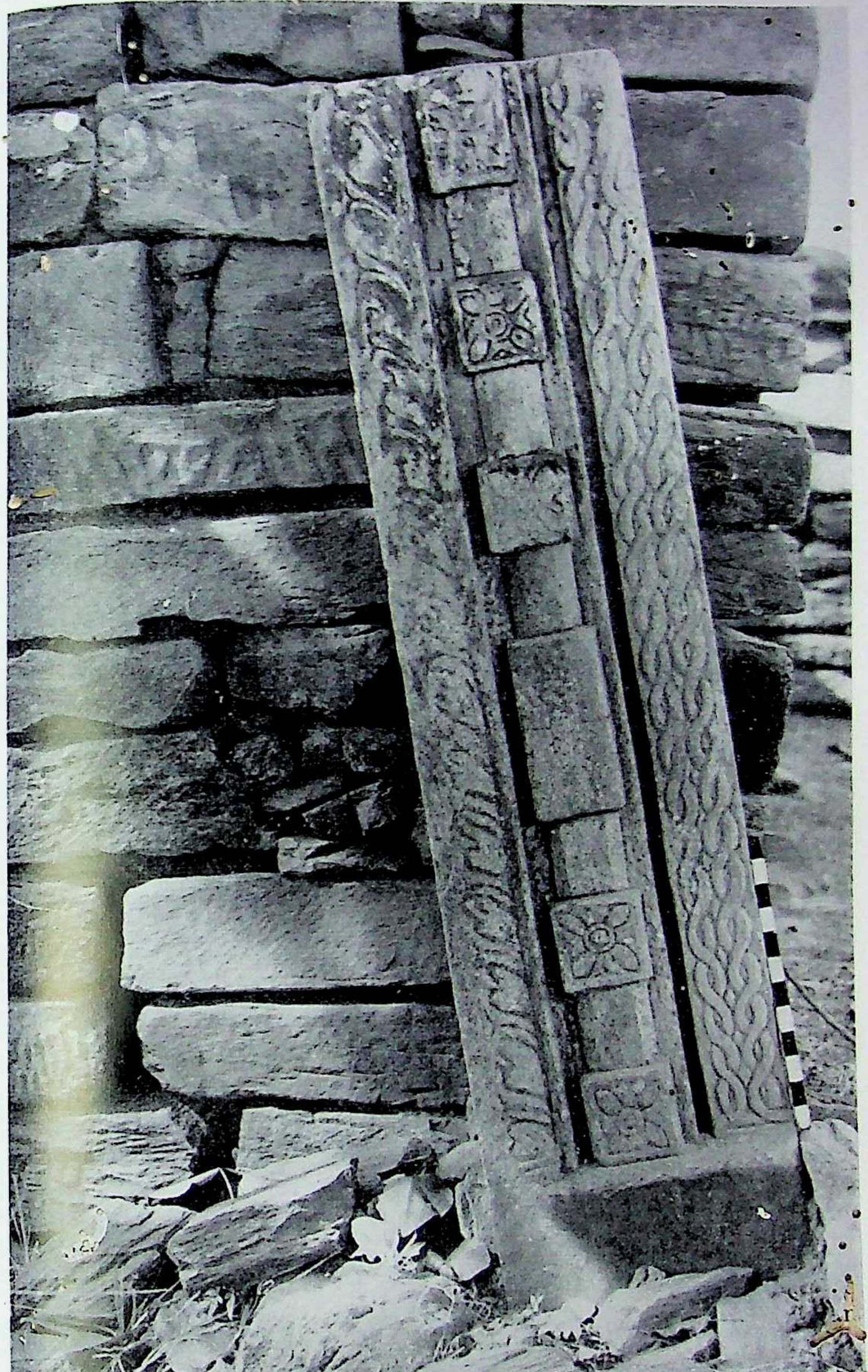


B. A *tīrthaṅkara* image, Chiada

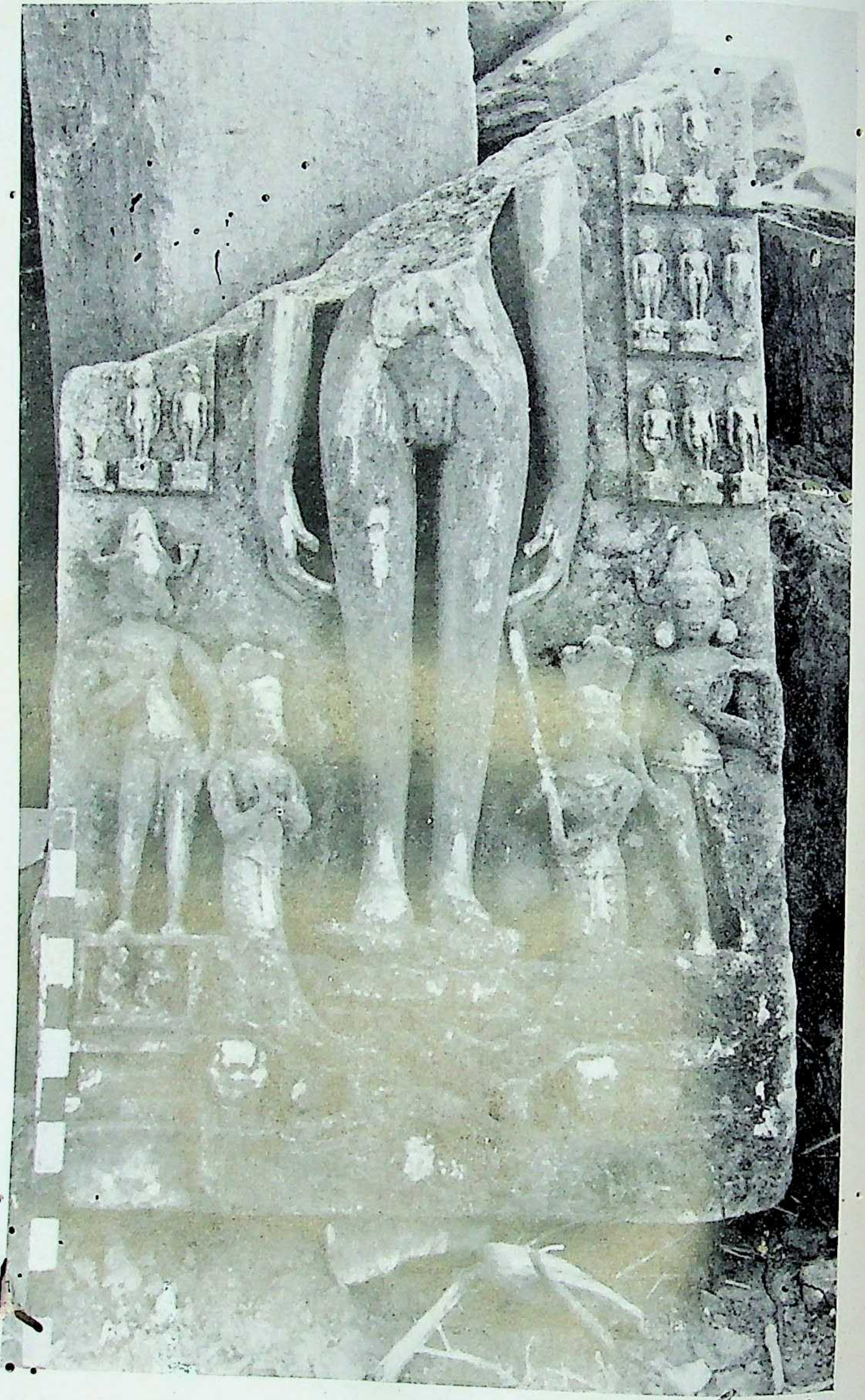


A ruined Jaina temple, Kendua

A ruined Jaina temple, Kendua



A door-jamb, Kendua



An image of Pārśvanātha, Kendua

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REVIEWS OF BOOKS

THE PROBLEMS OF LAND TRANSFER. By Dr. Karuna Moy Mukherjee.

The book under review studies some aspects of the problems of land transfer in undivided Bengal. It is based on data collected by the author during 1944-45 from a large number of villages in the district of Faridpur. He visited as many as 22 police stations and carried on multipurpose field work for the purpose of investigating the problem. He has taken considerable pains in gathering the official statistics from Registration Officer, District Settlement and Survey Offices, and the Collectorate of the Faridpur District for the purpose of verifying the data collected by him by field survey. Special effort has been made to ascertain the number of raiyati holdings that was transferred between 1920 and 1944. His object is to show that transfer of agricultural holdings is influenced by legislative changes and fluctuations in the prices of agricultural commodities.

The book is divided into nine chapters. Chapter one deals with the various forms in which land is transferred, e.g. sale, lease, mortgage, etc. Chapter two deals with the changes in the form of transfer. The study is confined to a period between 1920 and 1944 and the conclusions are based on the materials collected from six villages of Faridpur. He has found that gift as a form of transfer increased after 1929; that till 1937 there was little change in the relative importance of lease, sale and mortgage as methods of alienation; that the number of mortgages declined since 1937; that there was an unprecedented fall in the volume of transfer during 1930–33 with a sharp increase during 1940–44; that the number of court sales considerably increased between 1940 and 1944; that transfer by way of sale assumed greater importance since 1937; that the proportion of leases was higher during 1930–39 than during 1920–29 or 1940–44; and that from 1942 to 1943 there was a sudden increase in the number of transfers.

The third chapter deals with the nature and significance of land transfer in Bengal. The author has tried to demonstrate the influence of tenancy legislation and of legislation relating to rural money-lending and agricultural debts on the mode of land transfer during 1920–44. He has shown that all mortgages decreased in number after the passing of the Bengal Agricultural Debtors Act and the Bengal Money-Lenders Act, 1940, and the gap was filled up by leases and sales. The discussions relating to leases are very instructive. The various types of lease have been carefully examined and their relative importance has been assessed. He deserves credit for the trouble he has taken in gathering the materials incorporated in this chapter. He has given proof of some original thinking in his treatment of the awards under the Bengal Agricultural Debtors Act. The idea that these awards were in substance a mode of land transfer seems to be a novel one. He deserves thanks in bringing out the economic significance of the awards under the Agricultural Debtors Act.

Chapter four deals with the nature of land transfer during the famine of 1943.

Chapter five, which deals with the causes of land transfer, appears to be the most interesting of all the chapters. He has shown that a cultivator is compelled to alienate his holding for the following reasons: poverty, fragmentation, crop failure and cattle mortality, disease, and scarcity of food. He has also shown how scope for transfer increased as a result of certain legislations, and certain activities of the money-lenders.

Chapter six dealing with the correlation between prices and land transfers is too technical to be of any interest to the general readers. Certain graphs showing correlation between prices and land transfer have been included in chapter seven. The eighth chapter deserves special attention; it discusses the consequences of land transfer. According to the author some of the notable consequences are:

(*a*) Expropriation of small cultivators.
(*b*) Concentration of land in the hands of a few.
(*c*) Passing of lands from agriculturists to non-agriculturists.
(*d*) Loss of occupancy rights.
(*e*) Spread of crop-sharing.
(*f*) Subdivision and fragmentation of holdings.

The ninth and last chapter contains the conclusions of the author. His idea is that agricultural labourers should be given land; and that if any such labourer wants to transfer his land he must transfer it to a co-operative society or the Village Panchayat or the local Land Commission or the State. He has not, however, stated wherefrom the additional land is to come. He is, however, not unmindful of the fact that if the free transferability of the cultivator's rights to the land he holds is curtailed, he suffers much in credit. The real problem is how to restrict the right of alienation without impairing credit and the author has not offered any solution of this problem.

The author no doubt has dealt with one of the burning topics of the day. The spirit of research shown by him certainly deserves credit. He has taken great pains in visiting the sample villages for the collection of data. He has also ransacked the figures in the Registration Offices and the Collectorate to verify the results of his personal experience. He has indeed shown a new line of approach which should be emulated by others. But he does not seem to be very careful about his terminology, for instance expressions like 'illegalize', 'transfer right', 'lease deed', 'mortgages legally barred out' are not quite happy. It may also be pointed out in passing that the author is not correct in saying at page 19 that under Sec. 26G, Bengal Tenancy Act, a complete usufructuary mortgage for a period exceeding 15 years is void; such a lease is valid up to 15 years.

It seems the author has not taken as much care in marshalling the facts as he has done in collecting his materials. His style is a bit laboured and verbose. His presentation is also not always happy. At places he seems to have forgotten that brevity is the soul of wit. One cannot help feeling that the study lacks in terseness and lucidity. However, in a work of this nature such lapses are not of any great consequence.

In assessing the merits, it must be said that he has laid undue stress on the various modes of transfer. After all, what matters is the fact of alienation and not the method. The economic consequences of a sale and a lease or a usufructuary mortgage are almost the same. So we feel that much of his time and energy has been wasted in assessing the relative importance of the various modes of transfer. Again, his conclusion merely corroborates the general impression that we had as to the consequences of land transfer; they can be found in any standard textbook on Indian Economics. There is very little original in what he says, but his method is certainly original.

Though we have indicated some of the shortcomings of the book, we are not slow in recognizing its merits. The author deserves praise for setting a unique example of intensive study of a burning topic of the day. He has collected invaluable materials which will immensely help the future band of workers in this field. We have no hesitation in recommending the book to every serious student of Indian and General Economics.

N. K. SEN.

ISWAR CHANDRA GUPTA-RACHITA KAVI-JIVANI. Edited by Bhavatosh Datta. Calcutta Book House. 1/1 College Square, Calcutta 12. Price Rs. 12.00.

'Kavi-jīvanī' is a work of a unique character in modern Bengali studies in literature, which has been compiled, edited and annotated by Professor Bhavatosh Datta, M.A. It is well known that historical and biographical literature in Bengali, or for the matter of that in Indian languages, is exceedingly limited in extent and scope. There is an historical literature in Assamese, and to some extent in the Rajasthani dialects in North India; and biographies of saints and devotees are quite common, as they are popular, in the different languages, but such works are not strictly speaking biographical—they are mainly devotional and often legendary and even mythological in their content. Biographies of great men in the strict sense of the term are exceedingly rare.

So far as Bengali literature is concerned, from the sixteenth century onwards, we have under the inspiration of Chaitanya or Bengali School of Vaishnavism a series of biographical works beginning with half-a-dozen accounts of the life of Chaitanya, which are all in verse. The devotional and miraculous element is present in all of these, but in spite of it all serious scholars have been able to put them to proper use to study the life and ideas of Chaitanya. It is rather a disconcerting matter, but a biographical literature for our great writers is practically non-existent before the nineteenth century. The story of Jayadeva is there in some Middle Bengali works, but he features there as a Vaishnava devotee more than anything else, and there is the usual miraculous element of Krishna having taken a hand in the composition of one of the most popular songs of the *Gita-Govinda*. It is only in the nineteenth century that we find the first essays towards a systematic biography or study of the Bengali poets, who are not so very remote in time, and about whom the memory of the people was still fresh as some of them were almost contemporaries. Iswar Chandra Gupta, who in Bengali literature may be described as 'the last of the ancients and the first of the moderns', was the first eminent man of letters in Bengal to try his hand at biography-writing and the study of Bengali poets and poetry, particularly of those poets who were popular in his time. His most significant work in this line is the biography of Bharat Chandra Rai Gunakar, which was published in 1855. This work, exceedingly well written, is our only source for one who has been described as the greatest artist in Bengali literature before the advent of Rabindranath. Iswar Chandra Gupta also wrote a number of articles in his journal *Saṃvāda-Prabhākara* from 1853 onwards, on Ramprasad Sen (3 articles) and on Ramnidhi Gupta (2 articles). Besides, he had a number of papers and studies on the *Kaviwālā* poets who were slightly anterior to him in time, and on some aspects of early Bengali lyric poetry. He made in the course of his studies a good selection from these poets, particularly from Ramprasad Sen and from the *Kaviwālās*. These monographs and studies of Iswar Chandra Gupta still remain a most important source-material for the study of Bengali literature during the 18th-19th century. They were lying scattered, and were difficult to procure, and Professor Bhavatosh Datta has done a very useful service to the cause of Bengali literature by bringing them all together, and publishing them in the form of a book. The material which he has salvaged from the pages of *Saṃvāda-Prabhākara*, which is long defunct, comes up to over 360 pages, and interested scholars will be grateful to Professor Datta for making them available in such a convenient form. There are, in addition, a preliminary article by Professor Datta (pages 1 to 52) and his copious critical, biographical, bibliographical and other notes (pp. 367–489), which add considerably to the scientific value of his work.

Professor Bhavatosh Datta's work can be very well welcomed as a piece of solid research, and his book will continue to be used by scholars, at least for some time to come, and we can congratulate him on this fine production. A suitable introduction from Dr. Sushil Kumar De has enhanced the value of this work. The printing and general get-up of the book are excellent, for which the publishers can be complimented.

SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI

Jl. As. Soc., Letters, Vol. XXIV, No. 2, 1958.

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Being a record of printed publications mainly in European Languages

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SIBADAS CHAUDHURI

[*Continued from Jl. As. Soc., Letters, Vol. XXIV, No. 1, 1958, Supplement, page 20.*]

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    (v) The lives of Panchhen-Rinpochhes, or Tasi Lamas (with 14 plates):
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[1] See also *Jour. Budd. Text Soc.*, 1893, I (2/app. 2), p. 11.

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[1] With E. T. Atkinson's remark.

[2] Including Sikkim.

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